CAESAR'S GALLIC WAR.



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GAI IULI CAESARIS

DE BELLO GALLICO

COMMENTARII.

AFTER THE GERMAN OF KRANER-DITTENBERGER.

BY

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PREFACE.

The present edition of the Gallic War is based on, and for the most part paraphrased from, the 13th issue of Kraner's well-known edition, thoroughly revised by Dr. Dittenberger, to whom our best thanks are due for his kind permission to make use of his valuable work.

We have also consulted most of the first-class editions, whether of the whole war or of separate parts of it. Among these we may particularize the Commentaries of Schneider, Rudolf Menge, and Doberenz; of Messrs. Long, Moberly, Peskett, Rutherford, and Merryweather and Tancock; and the texts and critical notes of Whitte, Nipperdey, Dinter, Frigell, Holder, and Prammer. The plans in Book ii. are borrowed from Dr. Rutherford's edition of that book; those in Book vii. from von Kampen's indispensable '*Descriptiones nobilissimorum apud classicos locorum.*'

Among recent publications, serviceable in the study of Caesar, we have made use of Froude's sketch, Kiepert's *Manual of Ancient Geography* [English translation: Macmillan and Co.], and Mr. Bryans' *Latin Prose based on Caesar*, the introduction to which contains lists of phrases and idioms used by Caesar.

In that part of the Introduction which treats of the Roman army—the most valuable feature of the book—we have availed ourselves of some of the elucidatory notes added by the French translators of the same [*L'Armée Romaine*, translated by L. Baldy and G. Larroumet; Paris: Klincksieck]. References to the first part of the Introduction are made by pages, to the "war" part by sections.

In the body of the Commentary, to economize space, we have as a rule merely referred to parallel passages in the Gallic War without quoting. By a careful examination of such passages it is hoped that an intimate acquaintance with Caesar's style will be gained, which will amply repay the labour involved.

On points of Grammar we have added some references to Roby to those from Madvig's *Latin Grammar*.

This edition has been very thoroughly revised and many mistakes have been corrected.

Jan. 1905.

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INTRODUCTION.

1. Gaul and Rome to the War with Caesar.

Cicero made a thoughtful remark about Gaul when he said (*Cons. Prov.* 13. 22), *Bellum Gallicum C. Caesare imperatore gestum est, antea tantummodo repulsum. Semper illas nostri imperatores refutandas potius bello quam lacessendas putaverunt.*[1] The tribes north of the Alps came into contact with Rome at a time when she was conquering her neighbours and did not guess that from them her final destruction would one day come.[2] According to Livy[3] the Keltic king Ambigatus, at the time of Tarquinius Priscus, sent southwards a horde of various tribes under his nephew Bellovesus, who crossed the Little St. Bernard into Lombardy, where the Insubres settled, making Mediolanum (Milan) their chief town. Then the Cenomani, Boii, Lingones followed and occupied the country between the Alps and Apennines. The Senones alone pressed southwards, came into contact with the Romans and laid Rome in ashes. Afterwards the

[1] Cp. Sall. *Jug.* 114. 2.

[2] Lucan *Phars.* i. 256, *quoties Romam Fortuna lacessit, Hac iter est bellis.*

[3] Liv. v. 34.

conflicts with the Gauls were numerous (B.C. 361-346). After great exploits a peace of fifty years ensued. Then, in the third Samnite war, Gauls are in alliance with the Samnites, Etruscans, and Umbrians at Sentinum, where the Romans were victorious by the self-devotion of the younger Decius Mus (B.C. 295). Renewed hostilities ended in the annihilation of the Senones (B.C. 283). But for a long time Rome could not conquer North Italy, *i.e.*, Cisalpine Gaul; but in B.C. 222 M. Claudius Marcellus conquered the Insubres and Boii at Clastidium, slaying Viridomarus, chief of the Insubres. What was thus won was secured to Rome by her colonies at Placentia and Cremona.

When Rome crossed the Alps and became the invader, the Gauls were dangerous neighbours. She waited for a good opportunity, which presented itself just before the third Punic war. Massilia, her early ally, summoned her to help when the colonies of Nicaea (Nice) and Antipolis (Antibes) were attacked by the predatory Oxybii and Deceates. The consul Q. Opimius defeated them (B.C. 154). Later the Salluvii succumbed to the consul Fulvius Flaccus,[4] and in B.C. 123 the proconsul C. Sextius Calvinus defeated the Allobroges at Aquae Sextiae (Aix), the first Roman fort beyond the Alps. In the next year his successor, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, defeated the Allobroges and Arverni (who held the hegemony of the greater part of South Gaul) under the Arvernian king Betuitus, who was taken

[4] Liv. *Epit.* 60; Flor. iii. 2.

by treachery; this was at Vindalium above Avignon. In 121 B.C. Q. Fabius Maximus (Allobrogicus) defeated them and the Ruteni at the confluence of the Isère and Rhone.[5] In this way the Roman frontier was pushed forward on the upper Rhone as far as the Lake of Geneva.[6] Then in B.C. 118 Q. Marcius Rex, by conquests in Languedoc, fixed the limits of the Province till the time of Caesar. The colony of Narbo Martius was established to protect the coast route to Spain, and the Province was therefore called Gallia Narbonensis.

When the Romans had established themselves, Cimbrian hordes entered and devastated the country, and so prepared the way for Caesar's conquests by conquering all except the Belgae. Allied with the Tigurini the Cimbri in B.C. 107, defeated the consul Lucius Cassius Longinus, and slew both him and his legate, Piso.[7] Marius in B.C. 102 destroyed the Teutoni at Aquae Sextiae and, in conjunction with Q. Catulus, the Cimbri at Vercellae in B.C. 101. Then followed a period of peace, though not without mutterings of discontent. During Catiline's conspiracy (B.C. 63) the Allobroges sent envoys asking for protection against the oppression of the Roman magistrates;[8] they resisted Catiline's overtures, but, notwithstanding their loyalty, they received no redress, and therefore broke out under Catugnatus, seized Vienne, and were with difficulty quieted by the praetor Pomptinus (B.C. 61).[9]

[5] Mommsen dates the battle on the Isère earlier than that at Vindalium. [6] i. 6. 11. [7] i. 7. 4; 12. 5. [8] Sall. *Cat.* 40. 44. [9] i. 6. 2; 44. 9; Cic. *de Prov. Cons.* 13, 32; Liv. *Epit.* 103.

In B.C. 60 there was an alarm in Rome of a fresh Gallic invasion; news came that the Helvetii were pressing westwards. The danger of the Province was imminent, and the consuls were ordered to raise troops, when better tidings came. Still the Germans were crossing the Rhine and Danube, headed by the powerful Suebi. They had been invited by the Arverni and Sequani, who were jealous of the Roman partizanship of the Aedui. Ariovistus, leader of the Suebi,[10] with a great force, supplemented by the Gauls, crossed the Rhine, and in B.C. 61 won a battle and thereby secured a supremacy which gradually extended over the whole of Gaul.[11] The Aedui petitioned for help in vain; nay, Ariovistus was honoured with the title of King and Friend of the Roman people.[12]

Such was the state of Gaul when Caesar, after his consulate, obtained it as his province in B.C. 58.

2. Caesar to the Gallic War.

C. Julius Caesar was born in B.C. 102,[1] in the month Quintilis, afterwards called Julius. Marius had married his father's sister, and gave the young Julius a copy to imitate, for he had just conquered the Gauls when Caesar was born. He secured for him the office of *Flamen Dialis* in 87 B.C. On his death, Caesar became the object of Sulla's persecution. In 83 B.C., Caesar took a bold step and married

[10] i. 31. 10. [11] i. 31. 12. [12] i. 35. 2.

[1] So Mommsen. The usual date given is 100 B.C.

Cornelia, Cinna's daughter, and then Sulla ordered Pompey and Caesar to give up their wives; the latter refused, though the former obeyed. Sulla then seized on the dowry, the priesthood, and property of Caesar, who barely escaped with his life into the Sabine district. It was with difficulty that Sulla pardoned him; and the famous sayings that 'more than one Marius lived in Caesar,' and 'that the nobles must beware of the ill-girt lad,' show that he understood the lad's power.[2]

Caesar fought his first campaign in Asia under the propraetor M. Minucius Thermus, won the civic crown at Mytilene in B.C. 80, served for a short time against the Cilician pirates, and returned to Rome on Sulla's death in B.C. 78. He found that the opening offered by Lepidus was not suitable, and also suspected Lepidus' powers,[3] so he tried other ways of winning a name and accused Cn. Dolabella (who in 80 B.C. was proconsul of Macedonia) of *repetundae*. His speech, delivered at the age of twenty-three, was a great one; but the influence of the *optimates* secured an acquittal. Caesar then went to Rhodes partly to escape the consequences of this prosecution, but mainly to study rhetoric under Molo, who was also Cicero's teacher. On his way he was taken by pirates near Miletus, and, after he had been ransomed, he pursued, took, and punished them. As Mithradates was trouble-

[2] Plut. *Caes.* 1. Suet. *Caes.* 45, *male praecinctum puerum caverent.*

[3] Suet. *Caes.* 3.

some, Caesar collected volunteers and by his efforts kept the Asiatic cities loyal.

On his return to Rome he was military tribune and found that he had been nominated *pontifex maximus* in place of his uncle, C. Aurelius Cotta (B.C. 74). Then he mounted the usual steps of the official ladder, was quaestor in 68, aedile in 64, praetor in 62. In 63 he had been chosen *pontifex maximus*, though the Senate had done all in their power to secure the election of Catulus and Servilius Isauricus.

Caesar had a definite aim and policy, going with the popular stream, but never, like Marius, allowing himself to be swamped by it. He saw that the days of the Republic were numbered and he resolved to set one party in the state against the other, so as to secure both; he let no chance slip of injuring the *optimates*, especially such as had won wealth and place by fighting against Marius. He exhibited zeal in the restoration of Marius' followers, gave a splendid funeral to his aunt, Marius' widow, on which occasion he dared to exhibit the images of Marius.[4] He restored the trophies of Marius in the Numidian and Cimbrian wars, which brought him into favour with the people and into hatred with the *optimates*. By largesses of corn he won the crowd. His enemies hoped that when his money was gone his influence would wane.[5] But rich men believed that he had a future of promise and allowed him to use their purses. His debts before office were, according to Plutarch (c. 5), 1,300 talents. For gold in itself he cared nothing, but only

[4] Plut. *Caes.* 5; Suet. *Caes.* 6. [5] Plut. *Caes.* 4.

as a means of buying power.[6] His aedileship enabled him to ingratiate himself still further with the people. He undertook large buildings, conducted games and shows, and hired so many gladiators that the Senate interposed to limit the number. As it was, he exhibited 320 pairs, all in silver armour.

We cannot be surprised that he was accused in B.C. 65 and 63 of being implicated in the conspiracies of Catiline. When Pompey began to be feared by his own party and to affect the popular side, he found that Caesar had anticipated him, as, for instance, in the power which he had restored to the tribunes after the serious diminution of it by Sulla. But a coalition was formed, and was rendered firmer by domestic relations. In B.C. 67 Caesar had married Pompeia, Sulla's granddaughter, and later on gave his daughter Julia in marriage to Pompey—alliances of which it has been said that 'Bellona was the match-maker.'

After his praetorship he had as his province Further Spain, where he had once been quaestor, and subdued the tribes bordering on the Atlantic, in Lusitania and Gallicia. On his return he sued for a triumph and for the consulate of the year B.C. 59. It was not legal for a general to enter Rome before the actual day of the triumph, and, on the other hand, it was necessary to sue for the consulate in person. His enemies contrived that he should not be excused attendance, hoping that he would give up the important consulate for the unimportant triumph; but Caesar was not the man to mistake his interests

[6] Plut. *Caes.* 5, ὠνούμενος τὰ μέγιστα μικρῶν.

so completely. He was elected by the support of Pompey and Crassus, while Bibulus was elected his colleague by means of infinite trouble and much bribery on the part of the Senate and Cato.[7] But Bibulus was easily reduced to a mere cipher by Caesar, and was compelled to shut himself up at home, watching the heavens, declaring that the acts of his colleague were illegal, and it was wittily said that the consuls of that year were Julius and Caesar.

In the year 60 the Senate had given the consuls Afranius and Metellus Celer the important provinces of the two Gauls, putting off Caesar with the 'woods and forests'; but Caesar soon got this abrogated by the triumvirate formed with Pompey and Crassus, the capitalist, the aim of which was *ne quid ageretur in republica, quod displicuisset ulli e tribus.*[8] The coalition was long kept secret, but its consequences were soon felt. Pompey's *acta* in Asia after the Mithradatic war were ratified by the Senate. By the lex Iulia agraria 20,000 veterans and poor citizens were settled on State lands in Campania; the *equites* were won over by the remission of $\frac{1}{3}$ of the sum they had agreed to pay for farming the Asiatic taxes.

Then Vatinius, tribune of the *plebs* and a creature of Caesar, proposed and passed a bill that Caesar should have command, with three legions, in Cisalpine Gaul. The Senate, grovelling before the rising sun,

[7] Plut. *Cat.* 31; Suet. *Caes.* 19.

[8] Suet. c. 19. Cp. Flor. iv. 2, *sic igitur Caesare dignitatem comparare, Crasso augere, Pompeio retinere cupientibus omnibusque pariter potentiae cupidis de invadenda republica facile convenit.*

added Farther Gaul and another legion.[9] No one, not even the triumvirs, guessed what powers they were placing in Caesar's hands. They were short-sighted enough to think that by staying in Rome they could control affairs; but Caesar never let the reins out of his hands. Cato alone was suspicious.[10] The consuls designate, moreover, were entirely on Caesar's side; these were A. Gabinius and L. Calpurnius Piso, whose daughter Caesar had married.

Gaul was a splendid field for a conqueror; for he was never out of sight of the citizens, as Pompey had been in Asia; the army would be his tool; the Cimbri were still a name of terror, and any one who conquered them would be a conqueror indeed. Either Gaul was valueless without the other—Transalpine, in which to win victory, booty, and renown; Cisalpine, in which to use these and keep touch of home matters. Pompey forgot when he was proconsul of Spain, and stayed in Rome, that he had his rival between him and his army.

In the winter of B.C. 57–56 the triumvirs met at Luca and closely allied themselves. It was agreed that Pompey and Crassus should be elected consuls and hold such provinces as they liked for five years, while Caesar was to have his commission renewed for another five. The Senate also determined to pay the troops which Caesar had raised on his own responsibility, and gave him ten *legati*.[11] There was

[9] *Ne, si ipsi negassent, populus ei hanc dent.*

[10] Plut. *Cat.* c. 33, προλέγοντος Κάτωνος ὡς εἰς ἀκρόπολιν τὸν τύραννον αὐτὸν ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ψήφοις ἱδρύουσιν.

[11] Cic. *de Prov. Cons.* 11. 28.

no trouble with the *comitia.* Pompey and Crassus became consuls for 55 B.C., and got Spain and Syria as their provinces, Caesar obtaining his extension. He therefore had Gaul for ten years, but practically held it but for nine, as in the tenth year the Civil War began.

Caesar was unusually gifted by nature with advantages of body and mind. Suetonius says of him[12] that he was tall, fair, with well-formed limbs, with dark and piercing eyes, of good health; particular about the care of his person, sensitive on the one subject of his baldness, and welcoming the privilege given him of wearing, when he pleased, a wreath of laurel. He was a skilful horseman, was patient of fatigue, and would march bareheaded in all weathers. He would take long journeys at an extraordinary pace, often going 100 miles a day; thought nothing of swimming rivers, and often got to a place before his messengers. In the conduct of an expedition he was alike careful and bold. As to his private life, he was temperate,[13] magnanimous, mild, and gentle, as Cicero tells us in a confidential letter, which may be considered as expressing his real opinion.[14] In the Civil War he showed abundant clemency. He was not a petty intriguer like Pompey,

[12] Suet. c. 45. The substance of the passage is given in the text.

[13] Suet. c. 53, *verbum M. Catonis est: unum ex omnibus Caesarem ad evertendam rempublicam sobrium accessisse.* Velleius ii. 41, *magno illi Alexandro, sed sobrio neque iracundo, simillimus.*

[14] Cic. *ad Fam.* 6. 9. 8, *in Caesare haec sunt, mitis clemensque natura.*

nor a model of sententious virtue like Augustus. He was no heartless misanthrope, and avoided the danger, into which such giants as he fall, of either despising or using their fellow-men as mere tools. He was Roman to the core, with the faults and virtues of the Roman; ambitious, but shunning unlawful means and unnecessary harshness.

It is perhaps an invention—but it is a happy one—that he remarked when he crossed the Alps on his way to assume the propraetorship of Spain, 'I would rather be first in an Alpine village than second at Rome.' He had none of the petty envy which marked Pompey; his mind was inexhaustible; his talents versatile. He was a statesman and general of the highest order; accomplished in every branch of learning;[15] quick to use every talent, and keen-sighted enough to aim accurately at his object. There is no trace of labour about his work; it is always light and fresh. He had a commanding view of every situation, and so never lost his head, but was calm and collected. He knew how to use everything to advantage; could foresee results, and therefore could afford to wait and not be in a hurry. His reverses were rare, and therefore he had no fear; he was disturbed by no passions, was thorough in his work, doing nothing by halves, and is always the 'four-square' man..

[15] Plin. vii. 25, *animi vigore praestantissimum genitum C. Caesarem dictatorem. Nec virtutem constantiamque nunc commemoro, nec sublimitatem omnium capacem, quae caelo continentur; sed proprium vigorem, celeritatemque quodam igne volucrem. Scribere aut legere, simul dictare et audire solitum accepimus, epistolas vero tantarum rerum quaternas librariis dictare aut, si nihil aliud ageret, septenas.*

He touched every form of literature, and had a fine sense for every form of art. He wrote some short poems at an early date, and a more elaborate poem called *Iter*,[16] composed on the way to Spain. Grammar and astronomy he took up with the same interest as politics. While crossing the Alps he wrote *de analogia ad M. Tullium Ciceronem.* The result of his attempt to reform the calendar is found in his *De astris*, published probably in 46 B.C. As an orator he is unanimously allowed to be first-rate; he showed power, grace, directness, clearness, and brilliancy.[17]

We cannot marvel at the ascendency of such a man. Even his opponents only upheld Pompey not because they loved Pompey more, but Caesar less. Had Caesar been born as a king or in the days of the Scipios, his rôle would have been widely different; but he lived at an epoch when he had no alternative but to be either anvil or hammer. He could not, like Cicero, steer with the wind; he could and would control circumstances. The restoration of a republic—Cato's fond dream—was impossible; the time for it had passed. Caesar was a born king, and was conscious that he was so.

3. Caesar in Gaul.

At the beginning of B.C. 58, Caesar stayed on in Rome for another three months. There were still

[16] Suet. c. 56.

[17] Cp. Cic. *Brut.* 72. 252, 74. 258, 75. 261; Suet. c. 55; Quintil. i. 7. 34, x. 1. 114, 2. 25, xii. 10. 11; Tac. *Ann.* 13. 3, *summis oratoribus aemulus.*

many obstacles to remove, which his angry political rivals kept throwing in his way, among others a charge of maladministration during his consulship.[1] He waited for the sentence of banishment on Cicero, and for Cato's departure to Cyprus, and then, on 28th March, came the news that the Helvetii intended to gather in force upon the Rhone, and force their way through the province. In eight days he was at Geneva.[2]

Gaul at this time consisted of a large number of isolated communities, and was entirely wanting in *unity*. Keltic Gaul—that is, Gaul proper—was bounded by the Atlantic and the Alps, by the Garonne and the Seine. On the south lay Iberian tribes. The land north of the Seine and Marne was inhabited by the Belgae, who had crossed over from Germany into Gaul, and who remembered their extraction with pride.[3] Not only these three stems, but the several tribes included in them, were so disunited by jealousy and party-feeling as to prevent any association for a common purpose. The efforts of individual tribes to win the leadership and so bring about political union (*e.g.* the Arverni in the second century B.C., and in Caesar's time, the Sequani on the one side, the Aedui on the other[4]) tended to make the breach still wider. The rent was most conspicuous in the calling in of the Germans to crush the Aedui, who, again, by their

[1] Suet. c. 23. [2] i. 6, 7.

[3] ii. 4; vi. 32; Tac. *Germ.* 28. See Geogr. Index s. v. *Gallia.*

[4] i. 31; vi. 12.

friendship with Rome had brought a foreign element into Gaul. From hatred of the Aedui several tribes later on allied themselves with the Remi,[5] who, in order to deprive the Bellovaci of their supremacy, made friends with the Romans.[6] Within the States the knightly families with their retainers held sway, the form of government being sometimes republican, sometimes monarchical. The people consisted of clients who had no political rights, but attached themselves to the nobles; citizen class there was none.[7] Above the nobles was the hierarchy of Druids, who were always in conflict with the nobles, and who proved equally dangerous to Caesar. The religious-political bond existing throughout Gaul and Britain was the one thing that held the Kelts together. To destroy the power of nobles and Druids, Caesar set up chieftains, *e.g.* Commius, Cavarinus, Tasgetius, among the Atrebates, Senones, and Carnutes respectively.[8]

All this made the conquest of Gaul easy for the Romans. What Tacitus says of the Britons applies equally to the wars of Caesar with the Gauls: *rarus duabus tribusque civitatibus ad propulsandum commune periculum conventus; ita singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur.*[9] Only the Belgae in the second year made a united stand, when the Roman winter camp in free Gaul raised doubts; yet Caesar cleverly continued to keep the "conspirators against the Roman people"[10]

[5] vi. 12. 7.
[6] ii. 3; v. 54; vi. 12; vii. 63.
[7] i. 4 *n.*; vi. 13, 15.
[8] iv. 21; v. 54; v. 25.
[9] Tac. *Agric.* 12.
[10] ii. 1. 1.

separate, and Vercingetorix in the 7th year of the war was the first to combine his countrymen to any extent. The Gauls proved no match in military matters for the Romans with such a general as Caesar, though they were superior in numbers; despite their fiery courage and furious onset they had no staying power, so that, as a rule, they courted a bloody defeat; and often a campaign successfully begun was brought to an end by the deficiency of the commissariat. During the war they learnt from the Romans many things, especially the way to make an encampment. But Vercingetorix first saw that their tactics must be changed, and because his people were no match for the enemy in a pitched battle, he advised harassing the Romans on every side and cutting off supplies,[11] and even persuaded the Bituriges to burn down their towns.[12] His superiority in cavalry also stood him in good stead, for the Romans were weak in this arm. He might even have succeeded in throwing off the Roman yoke which had been imposed for six years, had he not committed the fatal mistake of throwing all his troops into one stronghold, where he could not maintain himself.

But, in spite of all, the conquest of Gaul was still a hard task. The very isolation of the tribes made it longer; for a victory in one place was succeeded by a rising in another; the tribes that one year seemed '*pacati*' in the next had to be subdued again. Other leaders besides Vercingetorix displayed great energy; Indutiomarus,[13] for instance, and Ambiorix,[14] who, by

[11] vii. 14, 64. [12] vii. 15. [13] v. 55. [14] v. 26.

the annihilation of fifteen Roman cohorts, inflicted a sensible defeat, and who cunningly avoided Caesar's pursuit.[15]

Caesar went to Gaul not merely to repel the Helvetii, but to start a war of conquest, for which he could excite general enthusiasm in Rome. For his campaign was against the ancestral enemy who had sacked Rome, and who had for centuries kept Italy disturbed. The invasion of the Cimbri, also, had left a terrible impression; so that a victory would ensure to the general such honour as could be won nowhere else. The prophecy of Sulla (mentioned above p. xiii) was to be fulfilled in a way which no one had anticipated.[16]

The answer to the question how far Caesar was justified in robbing a free country of its liberty is not doubtful. Granted that he was justified in repelling

[15] vi. 43; viii. 24.

[16] Caesar's expeditions across the Rhine and to Britain, which hitherto was not known to be an island, added to his glory. We cannot believe that his assigned reason (iv. 16, 20) was the real one, nor that he was animated by mere love of adventure. The many excursions of the Gauls across the Rhine (that by the Usipetes and Tencteri in B.C. 56-5 was the earliest) gave Caesar good grounds for forcing them to regard the Rhine as their boundary. His reason assigned for the British expedition is paltry; but so close was the connection of the Kelts on the mainland with those in Britain (the headquarters of Druidism) that Caesar may have felt it necessary in view of the recurring insurrections in Gaul, to show the British Kelts that they were not safe from the Romans even in their own land. His enemies assigned the lowest motives, *e.g.* Suet. c. 47, *Britanniam petisse spe margaritarum;* but Cicero's express statement—*etiam illud iam cognitum est, neque argenti scripulum esse ullum in illa insula, neque ullam spem praedae nisi ex mancipiis*—shows that a different idea was generally formed.

the Helvetii, had he a right to attack Ariovistus? His conduct is cleverly defended in i. 35. At any rate he overstepped his commission from the Senate, and possibly the reluctance exhibited by his army (i. 39 *n.*) arose from this cause. Ariovistus' practical answer (i. 44) shows on which side right lay. The Belgae rose and thus began a war for which Caesar longed, and which ended in the subjugation of Gaul. Caesar, as a Roman, would call these struggles for liberty 'conspiracies.' All Romans considered world-dominion as their heritage, and all conquerors have in all ages done the same. All really great generals have taken the offensive, and Napoleon I. in this respect ranges Caesar with the great generals of antiquity.[17] Caesar's principle, like Hannibal's and Alexander's, was to concentrate his strength, not to expose himself, to move at once upon the most decisive points, to use as moral levers the prestige of his arms and the fear which he inspired, and also to use all political expedients to keep his friends loyal and those whom he subdued obedient. As in the Civil so in the Gallic war his tactics were never to wait for the enemy, but always to strike first; he had indefatigable energy, a strong frame which needed little repose, and a spirit that was always pressing forward. We find accordingly a rapid succession of well-planned and successful undertakings; with his presence of mind and keen insight he overlooked no slip of the enemy, and never failed to profit by a chance. All this gave him unfailing certainty, which inspired un-

[17] *Mémoires, notes et mélanges de Nap.* vol. ii. p. 155.

bounded trust in his legions. During his long administration of Gaul he always kept the same legions with him, who in their long absence from home learnt to identify their own interests with his. Caesar's proverbial good luck was the result of this. Only once had he to complain of want of discipline in his men;[18] for, with this exception, his legions proved the most willing and effective instruments that a leader ever had. To them was due the rapidity of his marches, so that he often surprised a distant enemy. Long and rapid marches, huge siege works executed in a remarkably short time, endless privations and hardships, the erection of mounds, towers (as at Alesia), two bridges, the building of ships (in the third and fifth years), the continual presence of danger in an enemy's land; such were the features of his campaigns. His personal presence during siege operations and in battle stimulated his troops; and his *legati* never failed to urge their men to fight as though Caesar were present.[19] A general is sure of success, whose subalterns are capable of such sacrifice as that of the centurion Petronius before Gergovia,[20] and of such courage as Pulio and Vorenus showed.[21] His tact was shown in his way of reassuring his men, in his gentle reproofs, in his curbing excessive zeal where it was likely to be useless.[22] He set great store by his addresses to his troops, because he knew their effect. When the 10th legion refused to advance against Ariovistus, he skilfully brought them to

[18] i. 39. [19] vi. 8. 4; vii. 62. 2. [20] vii. 50.
[21] v. 44. [22] v. 52. 5; vi. 42; vii. 19. 4-6.

obedience, and his speech on that occasion — the only one reported at length --shows us his power as an orator.[23] Suetonius (c. 67) tells us that in such speeches he called his men not *milites* but *commilitones* ('brothers in arms').[24] These troops thus formed by himself were his devoted adherents in the Civil War, and in the spirit of mutual confidence and identity of interests they fought and conquered.

Caesar assumed from the first an absolute independence of the Senate and the people. In his campaigns (that against the Helvetii alone excepted) he never consulted them, nor again in the augmentation of the number of his legions, which he increased from four to eleven. The details of this increase are as follows: He formed four Senate-legions, one in 'the Province'[25] and three at Aquileia.[26] He levied two more, raising the total to six;[27] these were 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th (the last two being the new levies). The next year he raised two new legions, 13th and 14th, in Cisalpine Gaul, and had therefore eight.[28] In B.C. 54 we find a notice of an incomplete legion of five cohorts;[29] these, with a whole legion besides, were lost under Titurius and Cotta,[30] so that seven remained. In B.C. 53 two new ones were levied (of which one was the 15th, the name of the other being doubtful), and one was obtained from Pompey (known as the 1st) so that the total was now *ten*.[31]

[23] i. 39. 40.

[24] He quelled a similar outbreak by calling them *Quirites* (Suet. 70).

[25] i. 7. 2. [26] i. 10. 3. [27] i. 24. 2. [28] ii. 8. 5.

[29] v. 24. 4. [30] v. 26. 37. [31] vi. 1. 4, 32. 5.

In B.C. 52 there was a levy, but only to fill up deficiencies (as we find only ten legions mentioned in vii. 34. 2). But in the summer a new one appeared, the 6th, which is mentioned with the 14th under Caesar on the Arar.[32] In 51 B.C. the 15th was despatched *in togatam Galliam ad colonias civium Romanorum tuendas*,[33] and ten remained in Gaul. In the 9th year Pompey's legion was sent to the Parthian war, and the 13th into Italy, leaving eight in Gaul. For all legions levied without the authority of the Senate pay was granted only after strenuous opposition. The 10th legion was Caesar's favourite, and often distinguished itself and turned the scale in many a crisis.[34]

Each legion had one of the *legati*, of whom there were ten; we find twenty names during the Gallic campaign, because of changes. But besides his *quaestor* Caesar chose other *legati*,[35] the principal being Labienus, and next to him Q. Cicero, brother of the orator, who was with Caesar till the end of B.C. 52.

To make a just estimate morally of Caesar's conduct in Gaul we must take into consideration the sentiments of the Romans generally; Caesar, great though he was, was yet the outcome of his time and nation, and the nation must be held in a measure responsible for the wrongs committed. Severity, lawlessness, and

[32] viii. 4. 3.

[33] viii. 24. 3.

[34] ii. 21, 23, 26; iv. 25; vii. 47, 51. Plut. *Caesar* 19. Frontin. i. 11. 3. Dion Cassius, 38. 46.

[35] Such were P. Crassus, i. 52; ii. 34; iii. 7; C. Volcacius Tullus and L. Minucius Basilus, vi. 29; D. Junius Brutus, iii. 11; Sempronius Rutilus, vii. 90.

faithlessness are the charges to be encountered. Now Caesar personally was inclined to mildness, as both friend and foe testify in the Civil War. In Gaul, likewise, it was only continued resistance which hardened him, for his conduct at the first was clement enough. Thus he sent back the Helvetii to their land, and bade the Allobroges supply them with food that their land might not go to waste nor be overrun by Germans. In the same way he pardoned the Nervii, *ut in miseros ac supplices usus misericordia videretur.*[36] But he grew harsher and harsher towards those who revolted; he sold 53,000 Aduatuci as slaves;[37] so with the Veneti, *in quos eo gravius vindicandum statuit, quo diligentius in reliquum tempus a barbaris ius legatorum conservaretur. Itaque omni senatu necato, reliquos sub corona vendidit.*[38] Dumnorix, a free citizen of a free state, refused to submit to his command, and was hewn down.[39] Of 40,000 inhabitants of Avaricum only 800 escaped, as the soldiers *Cenabi caede et labore operis incitati non aetate confectis, non mulieribus, non infantibus pepercerunt.*[40] In Uxellodunum he cut off the hands of all those who had carried arms against him, sparing their lives, *quo testatior esset poena improborum,*[41] and Hirtius represents his conduct as forced upon him by necessity. With unrelenting hate he pursued the Eburones, because Ambiorix had annihilated the forces of Titurius, and as he could not catch Ambiorix he thought it due to his prestige to

[36] ii. 28. [37] ii. 33. [38] iii. 16. 4. [39] v. 7. 8. [40] vii. 28.

[41] viii. 44. Scipio acted similarly after the taking of Numantia, and mutilated 400 men who had come to the relief of the town.

lay their land waste.[42] But his conduct to the Usipetes and Tencteri, described iv. 11-15, has encountered the most adverse comment. When a *supplicatio* of twenty-one days was voted in the Senate, Cato as an amendment proposed that Caesar should be handed over to the Usipetes and Tencteri. It is hard to discover the exact truth in this matter; we do not know what sources of information Cato had nor how far he was influenced by partisanship. But Caesar's own account is not free from improbabilities and contradictions. That 800 cavalry should attack 5000 Romans is in itself unlikely, and the complete surprise and unresisted capture of the camp is perfectly incredible. Possibly Caesar wished by a garbled account to palliate his violation of international law, a point on which he felt strongly, and where he himself gave no light punishment.[43] At any rate this conquest is the least glorious in all his wars.

After the defeat of Vercingetorix, Gaul never made any united resistance; there were isolated risings which proved unsuccessful. The conquest of Uxellodunum brought the campaign to a close. In order to destroy all seeds which might germinate afterwards into a war, Caesar by his mild treatment won the hearts of the Gauls.[44]

'The Province' was completely organized by

[42] viii. 24. 4.

[43] iii. 9, 16.

[44] viii. 49, *itaque honorifice civitates appellando, principes maximis praemiis afficiendo, nulla onera iniungendo defessam tot adversis proeliis Galliam condicione parendi meliore facile in pace continuit.*

Augustus, B.C. 27. It was thenceforth called Narbonensis (see p. xi); Keltic Gaul, from its chief town, Lugdunensis; the territory of the Sequani and Helvetii, north of the Seine, Belgica; that between the Loire and the Pyrenees, Aquitania; the land overrun by the Germans on the left bank of the Rhine, Germania Superior and Inferior. Mommsen's *Rom. Hist.*, Bk. v. ch. vii., should be consulted for an admirable account of the importance of this war on the history of the world.

4. Caesar's Commentaries.

The documents at Caesar's disposal were his own despatches home, those of his officers to him, and perhaps private letters. It is an error to suppose that he compiled day memoranda (ἐφημερίδες), one day to be published with his *Commentaries;* he trusted, apart from the sources indicated above, to his excellent memory.[1] Hirtius in continuing Caesar's work had no written matter to go upon. See viii. pref. § 8.

The work was probably compiled in the winter of 52-51 B.C.; such a passage as vii. 6. 1 could not have been written after the disruption with Pompey. That Caesar wrote the 7 books continuously is highly probable, and Hirtius says as much in the preface to Bk. viii., *ceteri enim quam bene et emendate, nos etiam, quam facile et celeriter eos perfecerit, scimus.*[2]

[1] Pollio (in Suet. *Caes.* 56) says, *Quae per se, vel consulto vel etiam memoria lapsus perperam ediderit.*

[2] Cp. i. 28. 5; iv. 21. 7, and notes.

After conquering Vercingetorix, his work at Rome did not prevent him from writing the history of the first seven years, for each year a book.[3] The history of the last two less important years he did not write owing to the pressure of political business and the rapid advance of the Civil War. The three books of the Civil War were not composed before 46 B.C., and not published till after his death.

His contemporaries Cicero and Hirtius[4] assert that the *Commentaries* were intended to supply the material of a fuller history to some future writer. But his principal object doubtless was to put his conduct in as favourable a light as possible. Bitter misrepresentations and even accusations threatened him, especially at the time when he was a candidate for the consulship.[5]

[3] viii. 48. 10.

[4] Cic. *Brut.* 75, 262, *dum voluit alios habere parata unde sumerent, qui vellent scribere historiam*; Hirtius, pref. § 5, *qui sunt editi, ne scientia tantarum rerum scriptoribus deesset, adeoque probantur omnium iudicio, ut praerepta non praebita facultas scriptoribus videatur.*

[5] We must always keep in mind that (1) very strange reports kept coming to Rome from Gaul; (2) his despatches to the Senate, meant to forestall misrepresentations, were not always believed. Cic. *ad Fam.* vii. 18, *tu me velim de ratione Gallici belli certiorem facias; ego enim ignavissimo cuique maximam fidem tribuo.* His enemies were annoyed at his victories, made capital out of his defeats, and spread false news; Cic. *ad Fam.* viii. 1 (a letter of Caelius), *quod ad Caesarem: crebri et non belli de eo rumores: sed susurratores duntaxat veniunt, alius equitem perdidisse, quod opinor certe factum est, alius septimam legionem vapulasse; ipsum apud Bellovacos circumsederi, interclusum ab exercitu* (see viii. 6-23), *neque adhuc certi quidquam est, neque haec incerta tamen vulgo iactantur sed inter paucos, quos tu nosti, palam secreto narrantur.* Ariovistus' threat, i. 44. 12, was a reality, and this admits us to an insight into the spirit of Roman politics.

No one could tell plain truth better than he; but it was scarcely to be expected that he should do this fully, when it would but reveal his own faults. In the detailed statements of his plans and their results he deserves all credit; but we must accept cautiously his self-justification, which is often strained and laborious, and statements of his being *obliged* to do certain things, in his account of his treatment of the conquered. The charge of greed brought against him by Suetonius should be received *cum grano;* for Suetonius is notoriously a scandal monger.[6] However, *Caesar knew when to be silent.* Again, in so wide a field of action he could not inspect everything personally, but had to trust the reports of others; he also wrote the *Commentaries* quickly and without verifying every detail. But all this need not make us unjust to his credibility: he was and wrote as a *Roman.*[7]

But as to excellence of style the opinion is invariably favourable.[8] Granted that he had no wish to

[6] Suet. *Caes.* 54, *in Gallia fana templaque deum donis referta expilavit, urbes diruit, saepius ob praedam quam ob delictum; unde factum ut auro abundaret.*

[7] See criticism of Pollio quoted above. The want of exactness in his descriptions of countries which he had no opportunity of describing more accurately is not to the point. But much false criticism is due to the confusion of ancient with modern standards of feeling. In the middle ages these *Commentaries* were actually assigned to Suetonius, and by many more to one Julius Celsus, of whom nothing is certainly known, except that he lived about the sixth century A.D.

[8] Cic. *Brut.* 75. 262, *Valde quidem inquam probandos* (commentarios). *Nudi enim sunt, recti et venusti, omni ornatu orationis tanquam veste detracto ... nihil in historia pura et illustri brevitate dulcius.*

produce a work of art, and that he threw the *Commentaries* together quickly, yet his individuality has given a result which no other Roman historian could have given us. His power, clearsightedness, penetration, his perfect ease, are the outcome of his elegant scholarship and many-sided studies. His thought is clear and well-defined; he possesses simplicity, lightness of touch, disdain of ornament, yet he never descends to what is meagre or lifeless: his style is effective by its freshness and terseness; he seizes on the important feature, and depicts it clearly; he is strong and direct.

His language has nothing superfluous, farfetched or trivial (cp. Cic. [*Commentarii*] *nudi sunt, recti et venusti*).[9] His chief aim was clearness, to which elegance was sometimes sacrificed; hence a repetition of words (though this, perhaps, is due partly to hurry), and occasional fulness contrasting with the conciseness of the rest. His coldness is marked, arising from his objective treatment, *i.e.*, his allowing facts to tell their own story without comment. If he could say about Pompey, *ibi ab Achilla et Septimio interficitur*,[10] we cannot wonder that in the 'Gallic War' a disaster is plainly told and then dismissed. His style is that of a military man [11] (as he himself says in his '*Anti-Cato*') or of a statesman who talks of things with the same

[9] Brutus 75. 262; A. Gellius i. 10, *atque id quod a C. Caesare in primo de Analogia libro scriptum est, habe semper in memoria—ut tanquam scopulum sic fugias inauditum et insolens verbum.*

[10] *Bell. Civ.* iii. 104. 3.

[11] Plut. *Caes.* 3. στρατιωτικοῦ λόγος ἀνδρός.

calm with which he regards them. Quintilian's dictum *ut illum eodem animo dixisse, quo bellavit, appareat*[12] is applicable in the widest sense to the *Commentaries.*

The completion of the work is due to Aulus Hirtius, who was a personal friend of Caesar[13] and with him in Gaul.[14] In the Civil War he fought in Achaia, after Pharsalia, and took part in the war against Pharnaces. In B.C. 46 he was *praetor*, and so did not fight in the African War;[15] in B.C. 45 Gaul was his province; in B.C. 44, when Caesar was murdered, he was consul designate; he then joined, distrusting Antony, the relics of the Pompeian party, and fell at Mutina in April, B.C. 43. Though in the preface to book viii. he promised a continuation of the 'Civil War' to the death of Caesar, yet he only wrote the *Bellum Alexandrinum*, which is better written and less tame than book viii. The *Bellum Hispaniense* is by some other soldier, and is an unfinished composition.

[12] Quint. x. 1. 114.
[13] Suet. c. 56.
[14] Cic. *ad. Att.* vii. 4.
[15] viii. pref. § 8.

PART II.

Military Organization in the time of Caesar.

Lange, in his 'History of the Art of War among the Romans,' distinguishes three periods[1]—(1) The period during which the army was formed of citizens; this is subdivided into three epochs, to the time of Servius Tullius, from Servius Tullius to Camillus, from Camillus to Marius. (2) The period during which the army received pay, extending from Marius to Augustus, *i.e.*, to the end of the Republic. (3) The period during which the army was a standing one; this embraces the Empire. Of these three periods we here study only the second, and only so far as it conduces to understanding Caesar. But to enable us to understand better the changes in the organization of the army during the second period it is necessary first to glance rapidly over the institutions of the earliest period.

[1] Köchly and Rüstow distinguish the following principal phases of the organization of the Roman legion, viz., (1) The legion of Romulus, formed of the *clientes* of the *equites;* (2) of Servius, divided into classes and with the phalanx formation; (3) of Camillus, composed of regular troops, and with phalanx formation; (4) the first legion composed of *maniples*, as described by Livy; (5) the second legion composed of *maniples*, as described by Polybius; (6) the legion of Marius. which attained the perfect development of the cohort formation.

§ 1. The Roman army under the kings; the classes liable to military service; the phalanx; armour.

The army of Romulus consisted of 300 *celeres*, knights, commanded by the *tribuni celerum*, and 3,000 infantry. Each of the three tribes (Ramnes, Titienses, Luceres) furnished an equal number of efficient troops, under the orders of three *tribuni militum*, taken from the three tribes. The patrician cavalry formed the nucleus of the original army; Tullus Hostilius and Tarquinius Priscus increased it at the same time as the infantry; under Servius Tullius the infantry became the principal arm.

The citizens of the five classes included in the census (*assidui*, *locupletes*) were alone liable to serve, and served at their own charges. The *proletarii*, *i.e.*, the citizens registered below 11,000 *asses*, were exempt from service: if they were called out the state provided their equipment. The *assidui* were divided into *iuniores*, from 17 to 45 years, and *seniores*, from 46 to 60 years, the latter being reserved for the defence of the city (Liv. vi. 6). The order of battle was the *phalanx*, *i.e.*, a continuous line without break, eight deep. The 1st and 2nd ranks were composed of the 1st class, the rich; their equipment included helmet, cuirass, round shield of bronze (*clipeus*), and greaves (*ocreae*). The 3rd and 4th ranks were composed of the 2nd class, without cuirass, but with the *scutum*, a large rectangular shield. The 5th and 6th ranks were composed of the 3rd class, without greaves, but otherwise equipped like the preceding. The 7th and 8th by

the 4th class, with the *scutum* as their defensive weapon. These four classes were all armed with the spear (*hasta*) and sword. The 5th class formed the corps of *rorarii*, light troops armed only with the javelin; to these last were attached the *accensi velati*[2] armed with slings.

§ 2. The Roman legion during the Republic; formation by maniples.

1. An important change, attributed to Camillus, was the abolition of the *phalanx* and the adoption of the formation by *maniples*,[3] detachments separated by certain intervals; this continued till the time of Marius. The normal strength of the legion was 4,200 infantry and 300 cavalry; but this was increased according to their requirements, and might be raised to more than 6,000.

2. Instead of being divided by classes, the troops were redistributed in four kinds of equipment, according to their length of service and serviceableness. During the Punic Wars the legion comprised—

1,200	*hastati: flos iuvenum pubescentium*,	Liv. viii. 8.
1,200	*principes: robustior aetas*,	
600	*triarii: veteranus miles spectatae virtutis*,	
1,200	*velites:* light-armed troops taken from the lowest classes in the census (*νεώτατοι καὶ πενιχρότατοι*, Polyb. vi. 21).	
4,200		

3. The *maniples* (see § 27), originally composed of 100 men, were, to give them greater mobility, divided

[2] *velati* because they wore a cloak (*velum*).

[3] *Manipulus* = strictly, a handful of straw, wound round a pole and forming the simple original standard. See § 27.

into *centuries* and placed under the command of two centurions, one of whom (*centurio prior*), on the right wing, commanded the whole maniple, and had therefore under his orders the centurion of the left wing (*centurio posterior*). The heavy-armed infantry of the legion, including the first three kinds of arms, were divided into 30 maniples of 120 men and subdivided into 60 centuries of 60 men; but it should be observed that the maniples of the *triarii* had only 60 men and the centuries 30, because there were only 600 *triarii* in the legion.

The *velites* were attached to the maniples as light troops, at the rate of 20 to each century. The legion, then, was thus composed :—

Hastati:	10 maniples of	120 =	20 centuries of	60 =	1,200
Principes:	10 ,,	120 =	20 ,,	,, =	1,200
Triarii:	10 ,,	60 =	20 ,,	30 =	600
	30		60		3,000
Velites: 20 per century.					1,200
					4,200

§ 3. The three lines, hastati, principes, triarii. The velites.

At the same period the legion was usually formed in battle in three lines, *quincunx* form, like draughts—

Hastati: — — — — — —
Principes: — — — — — —
Triarii: — — — — — —

The *velites* formed the rear ranks of the maniples and fought separately. The intervals in the front line of the maniples were equal. The front line, when it was compelled to withdraw, retired through

the intervals left by the *principes*, while the *principes* advanced through the intervals left by the *hastati*. If, in their turn, the *principes* were obliged to retire then came the turn of the *triarii* (*res ad triarios redit*), but first these last had, with one knee on the ground and covered by their shields, received into their ranks the *hastati* and *principes*, and all together charged with closed ranks. The enemy, confident already of victory, had thus to deal with a third line of battle, which rose up on a sudden in still greater numbers than the first two.

§ 4. The armour,[4] defensive and offensive.

a. DEFENSIVE.—The three kinds of troops had complete suits of armour (πανοπλία), *i.e.*, a helmet of bronze, *cassis* (the *galea* being a helmet of leather[5]), with a high crest, *crista*, of red or black feathers; a *scutum*, two and a half feet broad, four feet or more in length, made of wood covered over with oxhide, and strengthened above and below with a metal band; in the centre there was a raised round projection in sheet-iron, *umbo*, so that projectiles would glance off it. They had, besides, greaves, *ocreae*, reaching to the knee (later on they wore them only on the right leg, which, in battle, they put foremost); and, lastly, the cuirass, *lorica*, so called because of the thongs of

[4] The armour is here dealt with, because the formation of the legion is based on the different kinds of armour. The description of it is otherwise the same for the epoch of Caesar.

[5] The leather helmet was subsequently abandoned as unsuitable for wet weather.

leather (*lora*) fixed one above the other, which formed it as a rule. Beneath the cuirass there was an iron plate, three fourths of a foot square, intended to protect the breast. Troops belonging to the first class (this was a survival from the old division into classes) wore a kind of coat of mail formed of rings linked on to one another, *lorica serta*, *hamata*, or a scale cuirass, *squamata*, *i.e.*, one in which the rings were further covered with scales.

b. Offensive Arms.—1. The short *sword*, about two feet long, straight and double-edged, *gladius Hispanus*,[6] *μάχαιρα*, used for thrusting rather than cutting. It was hung from a leather belt, *balteus*, which passed over the shoulder, or from a girdle, *cingulum*, and hung on the *right* side, so that the shield, which was carried on the left arm, might not prevent its being drawn. Officers and generals, who carried no shield, wore the sword on the left side.

2. The *pilum*, a heavy javelin, was until Marius the arm of the *hastati* and *principes*, while the *triarii* carried the pike, *hasta*. (Originally the reverse was the case, as is proved by the old name of the *triarii*, who were first called *pilani*, while the *hastati* and *principes* were called *antepilani*, and by the name *hastati*.[7])

[6] Adopted, according to Polybius (vi. 23), in the time of Hannibal.

[7] Originally the infantry phalanx carried the pike, while the *pilum* was reserved for the defence of entrenchments, and for that reason was carried by the final reserve, the *triarii*. The adoption of the *pilum* as principal weapon in the open field is placed by Köchly at the date of the war against Pyrrhus, the first collision of the Roman with the Macedonian phalanx. Marius armed all the legionaries with it.

The *pilum* used in the field (the lighter of the two kinds of arms described by Polybius, vi. 23. 9-11; ix. 11. etc.) was composed of a shaft of wood one and an eighth inch thick, and four and a half feet long, and of an iron head of the same length, half of which, however, was hollow and laid over the wood, to which it was fastened with nails; the whole length of the arm was six feet and three quarters. Up to the time of Caesar it was several times changed in construction, especially with regard to the way in which the iron head was fastened on to the shaft. We get information on this point partly from notices in ancient writers,[8] partly from the discovery of *pila*, especially at Alesia. The *pilum* was used as a missile only (i. 25; ii. 23; v. 44; vi. 8). The iron bent easily when it pierced a shield or a cuirass; then, as it was difficult to draw it out again, it hampered the movements of the man struck, nor could it be thrown back (i. 25. 3).

We find another *pilum*, but heavier, and intended for the defence of camp entrenchments: this was called *pilum murale* (v. 40, vii. 82; Curt. viii. 38). To this class of *pilum* belongs the heavier javelin described by Polybius (vi. 23. 9-11). This could not have been used in the open field, as its shaft was three inches thick.

The *Velites* had a small round shield, a sword, and several light javelins, *hastae velitares*, *missilia* (furnished with a strap, *hastae ammentatae*): their heads were protected by a cap of skin or leather.

§ 5. **Equites.** (See also § 10.)

The three hundred *equites* of the legion were

[8] Plut. *Mar.* 25.

divided into ten *turmae* of thirty men, each under the command of three decurions and three *optiones*, attached to them as *administri*. Their equipment was a bronze cuirass, leather greaves, helmet (*scutum*), a lance armed at either end with an iron point, and long sword.

§ 6. Socii.

The allies, *socii*, comprised the contingents furnished by the confederate towns of Italy, and the Latin colonies. They had, according to rule, nearly the same number of efficient infantry as the citizen army,[9] and in cavalry a total three times that of the Romans.

In the field they held the wings of the two combined consular legions, under the names of *ala dextra*, *ala sinistra*, *cohortes alares*, *alariae*. To command them, each consul nominated 6 Romans as *praefecti sociorum* (Polyb. vi. 26. 5), probably three for each *ala*. Below them were the native *praefecti* of the contingent of each allied town, consisting of one or more cohorts. A special corps (*extraordinarii*, *cohortes* or *alae extraordinariae*, ἐπίλεκτοι) formed in the infantry $\frac{1}{5}$, in the cavalry $\frac{1}{3}$ of the efficient troops.

§ 7. Auxilia.

After Rome had carried war outside Italy, a third element was added to these two parts of the army (legions and *socii*), viz., the *auxilia*, troops of non-

[9] The special corps of *extraordinarii* is included (Polyb. vi. 26. 7). At times we find the allies far outnumbering the Roman contingent. This is hard to explain.

Latin origin. These were raised in the provinces or even in the country where war was going on; sometimes by allied peoples and kings.

§ 8. The commander-in-chief's body guard: praetorian cohort.

Apart from the normal elements of the legion, there was besides a *delecta manus imperatoris*, *cohors praetoria* (i. 40. 15, 42. 6), composed of legionaries, particularly *evocati* (§ 21), and of detachments of allies (*Bell. Civ.* i. 75. 2). This was the commander-in-chief's guard of honour. *Cohors praetoria* was the name given, though improperly, to a body of young men of high family, who followed the commander-in-chief as volunteers (*contubernales, comites praetorii*) to learn under his eye the profession of arms (i. 39. 2), but who did not form a separate body of troops.

§ 9. Changes from the time of Marius: constitution of Caesar's army.

Under Marius the influence of the census on the recruiting of the army completely disappeared. Then, the propertied classes refusing to serve in the ranks, there remained in the legions, for the most part, only citizens classed as *capite censi.* They considered military service chiefly as a source of profit, a very important circumstance in the Civil Wars. The citizen armies became an army of paid troops. At the end of the Republic the *libertini*, who had hitherto served only in the navy, formed also some cohorts of the land-force. There were even, during the Civil

Wars, corps formed of slaves, as, for instance, in the armies of Marius (Plut. *Mar.* 44) and Pompey (*Bell. Civ.* i. 24, iii. 4). Finally, there were actually gladiators in the army of D. Brutus at Mutina; Lentulus, however, by the advice of his friends decided to disband them, *quod ea res iudicio omnium reprehendebatur* (*Bell. Civ.* i. 14).

Moreover, during the Civil Wars some legions, originally composed of Roman citizens, were composed of provincials: *e.g.*, under Pompey (*Bell. Civ.* iii. 4) and under Caesar the *legio Alauda ex Transalpinis conscripta* (Suet. *Caesar* c. 24). They were called *legiones vernaculae* (*Bell. Civ.* ii. 20; *Bell. Alex.* 53, 54, 57).

§ 10. The cavalry.

From the time of the Social War, or, according to others, from the time of Marius, the cavalry no longer consisted of Roman *equites.* These served only in the commander-in-chief's pretorian cohort (§ 8) or as tribunes and prefects, or as charged with special commands (as vi. 40, vii. 60). After them the Italian allies were employed as cavalry even when they had obtained the rights of burgesses; in the Civil Wars also we find Italians in the cavalry (Appian ii. 70).

In Caesar's army the mass of the cavalry was composed of auxiliaries, formed of contingents partly Gallic (i. 15, 42; v. 5), partly Spanish (v. 26; *Bell. Civ.* i. 38), partly German (vii. 13, 65; viii. 13), armed either after the manner of their several countries, or (being levied by Romans) equipped in

the Roman fashion: Tac. *Ann.* iii. 42, *alam equitum, quae conscripta e Treviris, militia disciplinaque nostra utebatur.* These latter were distributed among the legions according to the usual proportion (whence *legionarii equites, Bell. Afr.* 51; *turmae sociales equitesque legionum,* Tac. *Ann.* iv. 73; *equites legionum auxiliorumque,* Tac. *Hist.* i. 57). The former class were a special body apart from the legions.

Caesar had sometimes 4,000 or 5,000 horse, Pompey as many as 7,000 (*Bell. Civ.* iii. 84). The cavalry had at their head a Roman commander (i. 52, viii. 48; *Bell. Civ.* iii. 60). It was divided into *alae* (*Bell. Afr.* 39, 78), commanded by *praefecti equitum* (*alarum,* Cic. *Off.* ii. 13), most frequently Roman, but sometimes commanders of the same nationality as the privates (viii. 12; *Bell. Civ.* iii. 59). The *alae* were divided into *turmae,* the exact numbers of which are not certainly known (Rüstow conjectures a strength of 33), and into *decuriae,* commanded by *decuriones* (i. 23, vi. 8, vii. 42, viii. 18).

Obs. Caesar borrowed from the Germans (i. 48) the custom of mixing foot with horse (vii. 65, viii. 13; see a manoeuvre of this kind *Bell. Civ.* iii. 75, 84). Previous to this *velites* had been placed in the ranks of the *triarii* to reinforce the cavalry when not strong enough; Liv. xxvi. 4. 4.

§ 11. The *socii* in the legions: the infantry of *auxilia.*

The *socii Italici* were admitted into the legions from the date when, by the lex Julia (B.C. 90) and Plautia (B.C. 89), all the Italians received the rights of citizens. From that epoch the army is composed only of (1) citizens, (2) auxiliaries.

The infantry of the *auxilia* either retained their national leaders and equipment, or were organised in the Roman method. After the suppression of the *velites* (mentioned for the last time in the Jugurthine War, Sall. *Jug.* 46) all the Roman legionaries were *milites gravis armaturae;* in Caesar's army all *milites levis armaturae* are auxiliary troops, some recruited in their native country, others in the Roman provinces. In the first class of these we must mention the *funditores* who slung stones (*lapides missiles*) or pointed bullets of lead (*glandes*) and the *sagittarii*[10] (ii. 10, 19; viii. 40; *Bell. Civ.* i. 83; iii. 45, 88), for the most part Balearic or Cretan (ii. 7). Pompey had 3,000 *sagittarii* from Crete, Lacedaemon, Pontus, and Syria, and two cohorts of *funditores,* 600 strong (*Bell. Civ.* iii. 4).

The auxiliaries levied in the provinces were more entirely subjected to Roman discipline (being divided into cohorts) than the *auxilia* raised elsewhere: thus the *cohortes cetratae* and *scutatae* (*Bell. Civ.* i. 39), *cohortes alariae* (*Bell. Civ.* i. 73, 83), 22 cohorts *ex ipsa provincia* (vii. 65), *cohors Illurgavonensis* (*Bell. Civ.* i. 60). Lange thinks that the *funditorum cohortes sexcenariae* II. (*Bell. Civ.* iii. 4) were formed into cohorts because of their importance.

We must also mention the *cohortes colonicae* (*Bell. Civ.* ii. 19) raised in the colonies.

Obs. The auxiliary troops are no longer attached to the wings of the legions, like the *socii* (§ 6), but form distinct corps; however, in Caesar, the auxiliary troops are still called *alares, alarii,* in opposition to the *legionarii* (i. 51; *Bell. Civ.* i. 73).

[10] The regular use of archers dates from the Punic Wars. The Numidians, who with Caesar always form light infantry, probably armed with javelins, should be added to the list.

§ 12. Further changes in the composition, arming of the legion, and arrangement, since Marius.

1. The distinction into different kinds of troops, *hastati*, *principes*, *triarii*, disappears: these names were only retained to designate the subdivisions of the cohorts. Caesar's legions are always formed of soldiers of the same length of service, the *veteranae* (i. 24; *Bell. Civ.* i. 25), or *legiones tironum*, *legiones proxime conscriptae* (i. 24; *Bell. Civ.* iii. 28, 29, 34).

2. The *pilum* is the arm common to all the *legionarii*, § 4. 2.

§ 13. Formation by cohorts.

Instead of the formation by maniples (§ 3), which, on account of its too numerous intervals, was abandoned, Marius instituted the formation by cohorts as the tactical unit. Thenceforward it was the invariable usage in the Roman army.

The total strength of Caesar's legion may be estimated at from 3,000 to 3,600 men at most. Caesar gives, however, no accurate statement in this respect: the strength is more or less numerous according to circumstances (cp. v. 49; *Bell. Civ.* iii. 2, 89, 106). The legion had 10 cohorts, 300 to 360 strong; each cohort 3 maniples (companies), 100 to 120 strong; each maniple 2 centuries (sections), 50 to 60 strong. They stood 10 deep. (Göler says, only six deep.)

Obs. The century, which name occurs only thrice in Caesar (*Bell. Civ.* i. 64, 76; iii. 91), is usually called *ordo*, *Bell. Civ.* i. 13, *ex primo ordine pauci milites*; i. 74; *Bell. Gall.* i. 41; v. 28; v. 37; hence *ordinem ducere*=to be a centurion, *Bell. Civ.* i. 13; iii. 104; Cic. *Phil.* i. 8. 29. *Ordines* are quoted side by side with *manipuli*, *Bell. Civ.* ii. 28.

In order of battle the cohorts were generally formed in three lines, in such a way that of the ten cohorts four formed the first line, three the second, and three the third. The intervals between the cohorts in each of the three lines were equal in length to that of a cohort, and they were arranged like a *quincunx*—

```
4    3    2    1 cohort
—    —    —    —
   7    6    5
   —    —    —
10        9        8
—         —        —
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This is the *triplex acies* often described by Caesar (i. 24, 49, 51 ; iv. 14 ; *Bell. Civ.* i. 41 ; iii. 89). In the most remarkable of the passages which mention this formation (*Bell. Civ.* i. 83) the *triplex acies* is composed of five legions combined.

Obs. 1. Besides the *triplex acies* there were also, in some particular cases, other formations: *acies simplex* (*Bell. Afr.* 13), *duplex* (iii. 24 ; *Bell. Civ.* iii. 67). We find elsewhere (*Bell. Civ.* i. 83) Afranius forming a *duplex acies legionum quinque ;* but in this case the third line is formed of *cohortes alariae.* Caesar also formed in four lines (*Bell. Civ.* iii. 89, 93 ; *Bell. Afr.* 81).

Obs. 2. Contrary to the generally accepted opinion, Göler (ii. 245, 267 ff.) explains *triplex acies* as an army formation in three principal parts, *i.e.*, in three corps or divisions, placed in line next to each other, each with its special commander, in such a way that there was the corps of the right wing (*cornu dextrum*), a corps of the centre (*media acies*), and a corps of the left wing (*cornu sinistrum*) ; *duplex acies* as an order of battle comprising two principal divisions, the corps of the left and right wing ; *acies simplex* as a formation in a single corps. This opinion is refuted by Hug (*Neue Jahrb. f. Philol.* 85, p. 213), who supports his view by two passages : *uti sinistrum suum cornu triplex esset* (*Bell. Afr.* 60. 3), and, *in fronte enim simplici directa acie, cornua trinis firmabantur subsidiis* (*Bell. Alex.* 37. 4).

Obs. 3. The first cohort included the pick of the legion, as we see v. 15, *duabus missis subsidio cohortibus atque his primis legionum duarum.* Probably it was of greater strength than the rest: thus under the empire the first cohort used to include 1,000 troops.

§ 14. **The order of march** naturally varied with circumstances.

1. As a rule they marched in column, so that each legion had its baggage immediately behind it (ii. 17): the cavalry either on the flanks or in the rear, if there was any fear of an attack in that quarter.[11]

2. If the enemy were near, where the break in the column made by the baggage of each legion left a weak place, several legions were sent on together in advance ready for action (*legiones expeditae*), followed by the whole of the baggage: the rest of the troops closing the rear (ii. 19; viii. 8).

3. If, in this formation, the baggage was further flanked with a double column to protect it during the march against the possible attacks of cavalry and light troops, a perfect hollow square was thus formed, which in case of need could halt, withstand an assault in front or in flank, and change to the formation called *orbis* (§ 15. Sall. *Jug.* 46. 7; 100. 1).

4. The advance in order of battle (*acies triplex*, i. 49; iv. 19; *Bell. Civ.* i. 41, 64) was made of course for a comparatively insignificant distance in an occupied territory and when expecting an immediate attack of the enemy.

[11] Caesar (v. 33) blames Titurius and Cotta for having adopted this order in presence of the enemy, *cum propter longitudinem agminis minus facile omnia per se obire possent.*

Obs. The expression *agmen quadratum*, Sallust *Jug.* 100. 1, denotes the order of march marked (3). In the same way we must understand Hirtius (viii. 8. 4) when he describes (2) as *paene quadrato agmine*, the only thing wanting being the two columns on the flanks of the baggage. In each case the words are technical. Göler (ii. p. 244) by the term *agmen quadratum* understands the advance of an army in order of battle, and Livy (vii. 29. 6 ; x. 14. 7 ; xxi. 5. 16 ; 32. 1 ; 56. 7) uses the words in this sense ; but Livy was no soldier ; moreover, his usage is irreconcileable with the distinction always observed by Caesar, and elsewhere by Livy himself (xxi. 56. 5 ; xxii. 5. 5, 16. 1) between the sense of *agmen*, 'line of march,' and that of *acies*, 'line of battle.'

§ 15. The order of battle.

We have already spoken of *triplex acies*, the usual order of battle. Other particular forms are—

1. Formation in a straight line, *fronte longa.*

2. Formation '*en échelons*,' *obliqua*, if the force is divided into an offensive and defensive wing. This order is *right*, if the right wing is the offensive (see *Bell. Civ.* iii. 91), *left*, if the left.

3. *Sinuata acies*, when the two wings attack together, and the centre does not advance until the two wings of the enemy have been beaten back.

4. *Cuneus* (lit. 'a wedge') formation in column of attack (Göler, ii. p. 242) to pierce the enemy's line (vi. 40). This is the name given by Livy (xxxii. 17. 11) to the Macedonian phalanx.

5. *Testudo* (or 'tortoise') when isolated detachments raised their shields above their heads and, so defended above from projectiles, marched to attack entrenchments and fortifications, while the front rank, strongly locked together, was protected in front by their shields (ii. 6 ; v. 9).

6. *Orbis*, or troops massed for defence, *i.e.*, a solid or hollow square, or, for small detachments, a solid circular platoon. This formation helped in open ground to effect a retreat in face of superior numbers of the enemy, because the troops could not be surrounded (iv. 37; v. 33; Sall. *Jug.* 97. 5, *Romani... orbis facere, atque ita ab omnibus partibus simul tecti et instructi hostium vim sustentabant*).

§ 16. The General. The principal officers of the legion.

In the most ancient times the king in person used to command the army; under the Republic, the consuls or praetors and, under special circumstances, dictators.

The consul or proconsul at the opening of the campaign was invested, by a *lex curiata*, with the *imperium militare*. Next, after paying his vows at the Capitol (*votis nuncupatis*), clad in the *paludamentum* (the general's cloak of scarlet wool broidered with gold), preceded by twelve lictors he quitted the city (*Bell. Civ.* i. 6. 6) where he could not remain *cum imperio*. His functions ceased when, on his return, he had passed the *pomoerium*, or, if he was receiving a 'triumph,' at the end of the ceremony.

The badge of the General, as such (*insignia imperatoria*, *Bell. Civ.* iii. 96), was the *paludamentum*, which he might wear only when in actual command of an army. But he had the *toga praetexta* and *sella curulis* of all the higher magistrates. He was *dux belli*, but after a victory he received from the troops

the title of *imperator* (*Bell. Civ.* ii. 26; iii. 31, 71; Tac. *Ann.* iii. 74, *prisco erga duces honore, qui bene gesta republica gaudio et impetu victoris exercitus conclamabantur*).

Decisions bearing on the recruiting and strength of the legions, duration of war and concluding of peace, naturally rested with the people and the Senate. We see, however, Caesar acting entirely at his own discretion among the Gauls; and, of course, during the Civil War he would do the same.

§ 17. Legati.

Staff-officers of the commander-in-chief, a kind of aides-de-camp: *quos comites et adiutores negotiorum dedit ipsa respublica* (Cic. *ad Quint. Fr.* i. 1. 3). They were nominated and their number fixed by the Senate; the commander-in-chief, however, stated his wishes, which were taken into consideration. They were ordinarily three in number; Caesar had ten in Gaul. They were taken from men of senatorial rank. They were immediately under the orders of the commander-in-chief, and responsible to him (iii. 17. 7): they abstained, as a rule, from independent operations (*Bell. Civ.* ii. 17. 2; iii. 51. 4); consequently, their success was always attributed to the commander-in-chief. But towards the end of the Republic, *legati* seem to obtain for themselves the honours of a 'triumph.' By way of retaliation the commander-in-chief was responsible for the mistakes of his *legati*.

The *legati* commanded in action the different army corps, and could receive independent commands for

periods of greater or less length (i. 10, 21, 54; ii. 5; iii. 17; v. 1; vii. 90; *Bell. Civ.* ii. 17).

Obs. To Caesar's lieutenants by the *lex Vatinia*, as to those of Pompey by the *lex Gabinia* (Appian *Mithrad.* 94), were assigned the rank and privilege of *propraetor*. Such, at least, is the title of T. Labienus in Caesar himself (i. 21), of Q. Fufius Calenus, *legatus* of Caesar, first in *B. G.* viii. 39, then often in *Bell. Civ.*; he is called in an inscription found at Olympia *legatus pro praetore* (πρεσβευτὴς καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος).

§ 18. The Quaestor,

The commissary-general of the proconsul, whom he accompanied into his province. Strictly, he had to do only with finance; thus, in a campaign, he was in charge of the military chest, provisions, pay, sale and accounts connected with the booty: he had also to do with the sale of prisoners of war, who were bought by slave merchants (*mangones*) who used to follow the army. Occasionally, however, he was entrusted with a command by the commander-in-chief, and then served as a legatus (i. 52; v. 24).

Obs. The opinion of Schneider (i. 52) that Caesar had in Gaul several quaestors at one and the same time is decidedly mistaken; it rests on a false reading (v. 25). For even if Caesar had three quaestors in his three provinces, these must have remained each in his own province during the absence of the proconsul, and only one could accompany him into Gaul. If in different years we find the names of different men mentioned as quaestors, we can easily understand why it is (v. 24, M. Crassus; viii. 2, M. Antonius).

§ 19. Tribuni militum: praefecti.

There were six tribunes in the legion, each of whom was on duty for two months. They were originally nominated by the consuls: later on, one

part only, (*tribuni rufuli*).[12] The rest (*tribuni comitiati*) were nominated by the people in the *comitia tributa*. At the end of the Republic all the tribunes rank as knights (*angusticlavii*; iii. 10; vii. 65; *Bell. Civ.* i. 77) or senators (*laticlavii*), and wear from the time of the third Punic War the *anulus aureus*.

Although at this period the tribunes were still chosen by the people (Caesar himself had been *tribunus comitiatus*, Suet. *Caes.* 5; Plut. *Caes.* 5) they were more often nominated by the *imperatores*, principally by those who had kept the *imperium* for many years. Caesar's tribunes are chosen by himself.

Thenceforward, the choice of tribunes was an affair rather of family influence and personal friendship than of military efficiency (see a significant passage i. 39, *non magnum in re militari usum habebant*). These tribunes were most frequently young men of equestrian family (iii. 10; vii. 65), chosen after serving one or two years, not as simple soldiers but as *comites imperatoris* in the *cohors praetoria* (§ 8). Consequently, their duties in Caesar's army are insignificant, with the exception of C. Volusenus Quadratus (iii. 5; iv. 21; vi. 41). The most important charges, such as the command of the legions, which formerly rested with the tribunes, were entrusted to the *legati*, and the tribunes commanded only small detachments (vi. 39; *Bell. Civ.* ii. 20, 21), while, on the contrary, the centurions gained in importance. We find the tribunes occupied with details of military administration (iii. 7; vii. 42.)

[12] From one Rutilius Rufus: see Livy vii. 5, *fin.*

Obs. A false interpretation (*Bell. Civ.* ii. 20) has given rise to the assertion that in C's army, as under the empire, there were *tribuni cohortium.*

The *praefecti*, who, at this time appear side by side with the tribunes as officers of equestrian rank (i. 39. 2), arose out of the ancient *praefecti socium* (§ 6), though their original function had disappeared together with the employment of the Italian contingents, yet *praefecti* continued to be nominated by the commander-in-chief and provided with different commands, of the *auxilia* of the provinces, of the cavalry, of the *evocati.* Cp. Cic. *Fam.* iii. 6. 5; Madvig, *Revue de philologie* ii. (1878) p. 179 ff. On *praefectus fabrum* cp. § 22.

Obs. The Roman knights, to give to their private affairs in the province the authority of an official employment (Cic. *ad Att.* v. 21. 10; vi. 1. 4), or to remain in Rome, but, as *reipublicae causa absentes*, to be free from service (Cic. *ad Att.* v. 7; 11. 6) got themselves nominated praefects or tribunes. That such abuses existed even with Caesar in Gaul seems to be proved by a passage of Cicero (*ad Fam.* vii. 8, *tribunatus commoda, dempto praesertim labore militiae*).

§ 20. The Centurions,

As compared with the higher officers (who came from the ranks of senators or knights, and who had never served as private soldiers), had a position like that of non-commissioned officers in modern armies; they rose from the ranks, and access to the rank of superior officer was closed to them.[13]

[13] Madvig, *Kleine phil. Schr.* 519 ff. Up to the time of the Civil War between Caesar and Pompey, he says that no instance occurs of tribunes having served as centurions.

There were sixty centurions in the legion (§ 13). They were nominated and promoted by the commander-in-chief. They had different rank, according as they belonged to the *hastati*, *principes*, or *triarii*, or commanded the first or second century in the maniple, *centurio prior* and *posterior*, this latter being subordinated to the former. These titles were kept up, even at the period of formation by cohorts, when they were no longer *triarii* or *principes* or *hastati;* these denominations now indicated only order in rank of maniples in the cohort.

Promotion of the Centurions.

Each of the three kind of troops in the legions had (§ 13) ten maniples and twenty centuries; and so twenty centurions, ten *priores*, and ten *posteriores*. Their promotion consisted in passing through the whole series of steps in each kind of troop, *hastati*, etc., first as *posteriores*, then as *priores*. It was necessary then that every one beginning in the third class, *hastati*, should pass through the rank of *posteriores* and then arrive at the *priores;* he then entered the *principes* as *posterior*, followed out the same regular course, and arrived finally at the *triarii*. The series of inferior steps is as follows :—

The last (60th) centurion is *decimus hastatus posterior*.
The 59th–51st *nonus* to *primus hastatus posterior*.
The 50th–41st *decimus* to *primus hastatus prior*.
The 40th–31st *decimus* to *primus princeps posterior*.
The 30th–21st *decimus* to *primus princeps prior*.
The 20th–11th *decimus* to *primus pilus posterior*.
The 10th–2nd *decimus* to *secundus pilus prior*.

Obs. 1. *Decimus, nonus triarius* is never used, but *pilus.* The *triarii* were called *pilani;* each *ordo* of the same, *pilus;* hence, for instance, *primum pilum ducere* (v. 35).

Obs. 2. By a peculiar abbreviation the centurion, who is *ductor ordinis* is generally called *ordo* (v. 30): *cum a Cotta primisque* *o r d i n i b u s* *resisteretur,* vi. 7; *tribunis militum primisque ordinibus convocatis* = *primorum ordinum centurionibus* (as they are called i. 41, v. 28, 37; *Bell. Civ.* i. 74). Thus *ordo hastatus* or simply *hastatus* = *centurio ordinis hastatorum,* just as *primus pilus* (strictly the first maniple of the first cohort) = *centurio primi pili.* See *Bell. Civ.* i. 46.

The first centurion of the first maniple, or, what is the same thing, the centurion of the first century of the *triarii* is *primus pilus, primi-pilus, primi pili centurio.* After the adoption of the formation by cohorts, the first of the six centurions of each cohort, consequently the *pilus prior,* had the command of the whole cohort. Consequently the ten *pili priores* had precedence of the other centurions, and thus formed a special grade. Doubtless these are meant by the *primi ordines,* who habitually, alone among the centurions, are called to a council of war (i. 41, v. 28); these *primi ordines* appear elsewhere many times (v. 44); we can easily understand how important it was for centurions to reach these *primi ordines.* In contrast to them *inferiores* (i. 46), *infimi* (*Bell. Civ.* ii. 35) *ordines* are mentioned.

Obs. 3. That the phrase *primi ordines* indicates a function altogether peculiar, and not, as Madvig will have it (*Kleine philolog. Schrift.* p. 515), an indefinite number of centurions, the oldest and of the highest rank, has been completely proved by Marquardt (p. 359, 2nd edition). The theory that by *primi ordines* the centurions of the first cohorts (either all six, or only the three *priores*) are meant, is also there refuted. It rests on the supposition (recently defended anew by A. Müller, *Philologus* 38, p. 126 ff.) that with the adoption of formation by cohorts a change was introduced into the relation of rank

and promotion of each centurion—that is to say, that the centurion starting in the tenth cohort rose by all six grades from *decimus hastatus posterior* to *decimus pilus prior*, to pass next into the ninth cohort as *nonus hastatus posterior*, and to advance in succession in the same way right up to the first cohort. But this system is inadmissible because, in this way, the centurion who had already commanded a whole cohort would be reduced to the command of a century merely. If it is said of a centurion (*Bell. Civ.* iii. 53) *quem C. ab octavis ordinibus ad primum pilum se transducere pronuntiavit*, this does not imply any change in the method of promotion; this centurion had been *octavus pilus prior*, and his exceptional promotion consisted in the fact of his skipping at once the six places which intervened to reach the command of the cohort (*pili priores*).

Obs. 4. The centurions as their *insigne* had a vine-rod, *vitis*, hence the phrase *vite donari*. They had also a distinguishing mark on the helmet (Veg. ii. 13).[14]

Obs. 5. Caesar's centurions were men of merit, and their courage is often mentioned (ii. 25, vii. 47; *Bell. Civ.* iii. 91); at Gergovia forty-six were killed (vii. 51); at Pharsalia, thirty (*Bell. Civ.* iii. 99).

§ 21. Evocati,

Men whose legal time of service was expired, and who claimed thereby *aetatis excusationem* (*Bell. Civ.* i. 85); invited by the commanders-in-chief to resume a service no longer compulsory, they received in exchange higher pay and special privileges (exemption from ordinary duties when not in the field, such as work in the trenches, fatigue duties, guard duties; on the march, not in battle, they were provided with a horse, vii. 65); they had also better chances of accelerated promotion (*Bell. Civ.* i. 32). The practice of calling out the *evocati* was gradually

[14] The vine-rod was used to punish disorderly soldiers. 'The helmet had three feathers or a crest of horse hair, which were taken off on the march and replaced before battle.'—Guhl and Koner.

much extended, especially during the Civil Wars (iii. 20, v. 4, vii. 39; *Bell. Civ.* i. 39, ii. 5).

The *evocati* had the rank and pay of centurions, and are often mentioned with them (*Bell. Civ.* i. 3, 17; iii. 53). They used to fight, sometimes mixed with the rest of the rank and file, as in Pompey's army at the battle of Pharsalia, sometimes in a distinct regiment (*Bell. Civ.* iii. 88) and under a special commander (*praefectus evocatorum*, Cic. *ad Fam.* iii. 6. 5). Vegetius (ii. 7) speaks of them, *eorum opera atque virtute exercitui vigens vis crescit.*

Obs. 1. If on any occasion individual soldiers were called out by name (*nominatim evocare*, iii. 20; *Bell. Civ.* i. 39), the very fact that this circumstance is expressly brought into prominence shows that it could not be a question of *evocatio*. In many cases also, because of the great number of troops thus called out (10,000 before the battle of Mutina), the supposition that they were *evocati* is inadmissible.

Obs. 2. Very considerable bodies of men were formed of soldiers who remained in the army without any break in their service after their legal time, and who were called not *evocati* but *veterani*. By analogy, but in an improper acceptation of the word, whole legions received, in opposition to *tirones* (§ 12) the name of *legiones veteranae*, on account of their length of service and military experience.

Obs. 3. Beneficiarii were soldiers exempted from ordinary service, to be attached to the person of some officer of high rank and perform some special duty near him. They were called, according to the rank of the officer, to whom they owed the distinction, *beneficiarii consulis*, *tribuni*, etc. Caesar says (speaking of Petreius, *Bell. Civ.* i. 75), *beneficiariis suis, quos suae custodiae causa habere consuerat.* On being discharged they received a bonus (Veg. ii. 7), and followed the commander-in-chief on fresh campaigns as *evocati* (*Bell. Civ.* iii. 88).

§ 22. Fabri.

Were a body of smiths (*fabri ferrarii*, *tignarii*) attached to the army; they included sappers

and pioneers (v. 11), not incorporated into the legions, but serving separately under the orders of a *praefectus fabrum*, head of the engineer corps, who was nominated by the commander-in-chief (hence the title of *praef. fabrum C. Caesaris, Ti. Neronis*, and others). The *praefectus fabrum* had charge of the siege train and projectiles, directed siege works, and had the conduct of the baggage. He was employed also in non-military business, such as diplomatic missions or administration of justice. There was no *praefectus fabrum legionis*, because each legion had not its special *fabri*, as these belonged to the whole army. But at times detachments of smiths were attached to individual legions.

Obs. Speculatores are not detachments drawn from the legions for special duty, *i.e.*, reconnoitring parties, but individual spies, sent to observe what is going on (v. 49). *Exploratores*, on the contrary, are not individual soldiers, but small bodies of troops, detachments charged with scouring and reconnoitring the country; most frequently they were supplied by the cavalry. In ii. 17, vi. 10, vii. 16, ii. 11, 12, etc., the distinction is clearly shown.

§ 23. Calones, Lixae.

The army was followed by *calones* and *lixae*. The *calones* were baggage servants, charged with the care of the *impedimenta*, part of which consisted of the heavy engines for projectiles (on *sarcinae* see § 26). The *lixae* were free *vivandiers* without military character, who followed the army to sell victuals to the troops.

§ 24. Musicians.

(a) *Tubicines*, who used the *tuba*, a straight instru-

ment (Ov. *Met.* i. 98) widening out at the end into a large mouthpiece. It was used for signals of starting, meeting, attack, and retreat (ii. 20 ; *Bell. Civ.* iii. 46), and was in use among the Gauls (vii. 81, viii. 20).

(b) *Bucinatores*, who played on the *bucina* (*bos*, *canere*), a natural horn or one of metal, much bent. It was used to sound the night-guard (*vigiliae*).

(c) *Cornicines*, who played on the *cornu*, an instrument less bent than the *bucina* ; like the *tubicines*, they gave the signal for attack.

(d) *Liticines*, who played on the *lituus*, so called because of its likeness to an augur's rod. It was straight, bent at the end (*aes aduncum*), and emitted a piercing note.[15] It was used for the cavalry calls.

Obs. The signal for attack, *classicum*, *classicum canere*, (Sall. *Jug.* 99, *signa canere*), was only given by direct order of the commander-in-chief and in his presence, usually in front of his tent (*Bell. Civ.* iii. 82), where Pompey shares with his father-in-law Scipio this honour. During the engagement the *tubicines* and *cornicines* gave the calls together (*cornua ac tubae concinuere*, Tac. *Ann.* i. 68) ; to rouse the troops and alarm the enemy all the instruments sounded at once (*Bell. Civ.* iii. 92).

§ 25. Uniforms.

Originally the soldier wore the toga, but soon replaced it by a more convenient dress, the *sagum* (*Bell. Civ.* i. 75) or *sagulum* (v. 42), a military cloak reaching down to the knee, open in front and fastened on the shoulder with a buckle. Under this garment he wore the *tunica* and over it the

[15] *Stridor lituum, clangorque tubarum*, Lucan. *Phars.* i. 237.

cingulum[16] (girdle), on which hung his sword. To protect his feet he had *călĭgae*, boots reaching as high as the middle of the calf of the leg.[17]

§ 26. Soldiers' Packs; *sarcinae*.[18]

The Roman soldier had much to carry on the march, because he was obliged to have on him all that he wanted. The weight of his baggage was as much as 60 Roman lbs. (= 45 English lbs.), he was then very seriously *impeditus* (iii. 19. 4; iv. 26. 2 ff.) and marching was one of his greatest burdens (Cic. *Tusc.* ii. 16. 37). Besides his heavy equipment and arms, he used to carry a supply of grain, generally for a fortnight (*plus dimidiati mensis cibaria.* Cic. *l. c.*), sometimes for a longer period (thus *Bell. Civ.* i. 78, for 22 days), several stakes (*valli*), saws, baskets, spade, hatchets, and cooking utensils. At *Bell. Civ.* i. 78 the auxiliary troops are not capable of carrying such a weight.

From the time of Marius the carriage of this weight was made easier by the custom of fastening the *vasa* and *cibaria* to the top of a pole which the soldier rested on his right shoulder; in his left hand he held his missile weapons, his shield was slung on his left arm, and his helmet on his chest or back (ii. 21).

16 *Cingulum*, confined afterwards to the officers, the privates and centurions wearing the *balteus*.

17 *Caligae*, common to soldiers and centurions; higher officers had the *cothurni*.

18 '*Sarcinae, valli praecipue et cibaria ad certum tempus.*' Schneider.

Obs. 1. When an engagement was imminent, the baggage was placed on the ground and brought together (*sarcinas conferre*, i. 24; vii. 28) and a detachment specially told off to guard it (*praesidium*). When the troops left camp to take the field they left their baggage there; hence the Roman armies were wholly dependent on their camps and protected them by entrenchments.

When relieved of all which could hinder his movements on the march or in the field, the soldier was called *expeditus*, *i.e.*, ready for battle.

Obs. 2. IMPEDIMENTA. The heavy baggage of the army (*impedimenta*), tents, hand-mills, war-engines, etc., were transported on waggons or carried by beasts of burden.

When the army had to begin a march, at the first bugle the tents were struck and folded, the baggage got together (*vasa conclamare, colligere*, *Bell. Civ.* i. 66; iii. 37); at the second all was placed on the beasts of burden; at the third the army began to move.

§ 27. Ensigns (*signa*).

1. At the time of formation by maniples each maniple had its *signum*, and the very name *manipulus* comes from the wisp of hay used in very old times as an ensign.[19] The soldiers belonging to the same maniple were called *unius signi milites* (Liv. xxv. 23. 16).

The ancient *signa* were staves carrying at the top, as a badge, figures of animals; an eagle (for the first maniple; this was from the time of Marius the standard of the legion), a wolf, the minotaur, a horse, a wild boar. Later, these figures were replaced by a lance, at the point of which was a hand (*manus* = *manipulus*) with knobs of metal below. After the adoption of the formation by cohorts, the *signa manipulorum* were preserved, but there were no *signa* for the centuries

[19] Ov. *Fast.* iii. 115, *illa quidem e faeno: sed erat reverentia faeno | quantam nunc aquilas cernis habere tuas.*

(*manipulos exercitus minimas manus, quae unum sequuntur signum*, Varro *L.L.* v. 88). *Manipuli* and *signa* are often used side by side: *si continere ad signa manipulos vellet* (vi. 34); *se in signa manipulosque coniciunt* (vi. 40).[20] The ensign-bearer was called *signifer.*

2. It is probable that in the time of Caesar the cohorts had ensigns; we see (ii. 25. 1) a cohort *signifero interfecto, signo amisso;* a little later Tacitus mentions *signa cohortium* (*Ann.* i. 18).

3. The *signum legionis*, adopted by Marius during his second consulship, was a spread eagle carried on the top of a staff, originally of silver, later of gold: the eagle sometimes carried a thunderbolt in its talons. The eagle-bearer was *aquilifer*, chosen by the centurions among the hardiest and bravest soldiers, and distinguished by a bearskin which covered his helmet and shoulders.

4. The *vexillum* was a small flag, made of a piece of square stuff, white, red, or purple, its colour differing according to the body of troops; it was fastened to a cross-piece of wood supported on a staff. In a more restricted sense the *vexillum* is the cavalry standard: each *turma* had one. It is also perhaps the ensign of the *auxilia.* In Tacitus (*Hist.* ii. 18. 43) the *vexillum* is expressly distinguished from *signa.* The bearer is *vexillarius.* But sometimes *signum* and *vexillum* are in loose writing confused with each other.

[20] Rüstow disputes the existence of the *signa manipulorum* in Caesar's time. Hug, on the contrary, allows that the maniples as well as the cohorts had ensigns at that date, and this is the more probable view.

5. A red *vexillum* was hoisted on the commander-in-chief's tent as the signal for marching to the field (ii. 20; *Bell. Civ.* iii. 89; *Bell. Alex.* 45).

6. When portions of the legion (detachments, *electi*) were charged with special expeditions, they received special *vexilla:* the *signa* remained with the legions (vi. 36, 40). The detachments were themselves denoted by the name of *vexilla*, *vexillarii* (see Nipperdey, Tac. *Ann.* i. 17), *vexillationes.*

7. Position of the Standards.—Before an engagement began the *signa* of the maniples were placed in front of the maniples and cohorts. During the engagement the soldiers of the first line of battle, *i.e.*, the first four cohorts, were in front of the *signa*, so that these stood in the middle of the lines.

The eagle of the legion, which originally was in the third line, *i.e.*, in the middle of the *triarii*, was placed by Marius in the first, and carried by the *aquilifer* under the guard of the *primipilus*, and therefore in the first cohort of the legion.

In camp, the eagles were close to the tent of the commander-in-chief (*praetorium*), fixed in the ground under a slight shelter (Cic. *Cat.* i. 9. 24); the place was sacred, and served as an asylum. In time of peace they were kept under the quaestors' care in the state treasury (*aerarium*).

8. The *signa* were regarded as sacred and their loss as a dishonour, especially for the *signifer* (iv. 25), who was punished with death, when they were lost or abandoned by his fault. Occasionally, to inflame the courage of the troops, the *signa* were carried or

thrown into the ranks of the enemy (Liv. iii. 70. 10; iv. 25. 3; vi. 8. 3; xxv. 14. 4).

9. The importance of the *signa* is shown by the numerous phrases which express the movements of the legion: *signa convellere, efferre, tollere* (i. 39, 40) = 'to strike camp'; *signa proferre, promovere* (Liv. viii. 23), when the whole line advances; *signa inferre* (ii. 25), 'to attack'; *signa constituere*, 'to halt'; *signa convertere* (i. 25), 'to wheel round'; *a signis discedere, signa deserere* (v. 33; *Bell. Civ.* i. 44), 'to leave the ranks'; *signa referre* (*Bell. Civ.* ii. 99), 'to retreat'; *signa conferre*, 'to engage in hand-to-hand conflict,' and also 'to rally'; *legionem sub signis ducere*, 'to lead in order of battle'; *manipulos ad signa continere* (vi. 34), 'to keep close order.'

§ 28. Antesignani.

The word *antesignani* may well have denoted, at the time of formation by maniples, 'the first line,' because at the instant of attack the soldiers who composed it carried their *signa* forwards and thus fought *ante alia signa*, when they were repulsed, the *principes*, by advancing, became in their turn *antesignani*.

But in Caesar *antesignani* denotes a special corps which existed in each legion; according to Lange 300 strong (*Bell. Afr.* 75. 78). These bore no particular kind of armour, but were a light-armed body, like the *velites*. Caesar defines the *antesignani* as *electos ex omnibus legionibus fortissimos viros* (*Bell. Civ.* i. 57). In any case they were *expediti:*

they sometimes left the ranks to support the cavalry, exactly following the tactics of light-armed troops (*Bell. Civ.* iii. 75. 84). In Greece, Caesar virtually accustomed the legionaries to this method of warfare, for which otherwise only *levis armaturae milites* were used. The *antesignani* were also entrusted to occupy certain important positions: their business done, they retired *ad sua signa* (*Bell. Civ.* i. 43).

§ 29. The Camp.

The arrangement of the Roman camp varied at different epochs according to the needs introduced by the strength of combined legions and auxiliary troops. We have two detailed descriptions of it, one by Polybius (vi. 27-32), referring to the period of the Punic Wars, another by Hyginus (*Liber de munitionibus castrorum*), referring to the time of Trajan. For the whole intermediate time we have inadequate information, and we can complete it only by passages from the historians. Fundamentally, however, the principal elements of the camp remained the same. Only an outline of the chief parts can here be given; fuller details may be sought in Nissen, *das Templum*, pp. 22-53; Marquardt, p. 391 ff.

1. The Roman camp was in the time of Polybius (vi. 31. 10; Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* iii. 5. 1) square, *castra quadrata.*[21] There were also other shapes: we find Caesar (*Bell. Afr.* 80) pitching a camp of a crescent shape, *castra lunata.*

[21] Later it was oblong, its length about a third greater than its breadth.

2. For the site, the most convenient ground was considered to be the slight incline of a hill, because of the facilities which it offered for getting water, fuel, and forage. The contrary practice is regarded as that of barbarous people: *castra eorum, ut barbarorum fere consuetudo est, relictis locis superioribus, ad ripas fluminis esse demissa* (viii. 36. 3). The choice of the site and the tracing of the camp-lines (*castra metari*) were made by a detachment sent on in front under command of tribunes and centurions; *exploratores* (§ 22, obs.) *centurionesque praemittit qui locum idoneum castris deligant* (ii. 17). Later, surveyors (*metatores*) were specially appointed for this purpose.

3. The camp surveyor first marked out with stakes a line (*decumanus maximus*) traversing the camp lengthwise, and another dividing it breadthwise (*cardo maximus*). On the *decumanus* a path fifty feet wide was made, ending, on the side next to the enemy, in the *porta praetoria*, and on the opposite, farthest from the enemy, in the *porta decumana* (or *quaestoria*, Liv. xxxiv. 47; xl. 27). On the *cardo* was marked out the *via principalis*, one hundred feet wide (called also *principia*, Liv. vii. 12. 14; xxviii. 24. 13); this led to two gates called *porta principalis dextra* and *sinistra.*

4. The *cardo maximus* and *via principalis*, which followed its direction, divided the camp into two parts. That in front (*i.e.*, that which was turned towards the enemy) was meant to serve exclusively as the camping ground for the legionaries, and (at the time of Polybius) for the corresponding contingent of

the allied forces. A road, which ran parallel to the *via principalis*, the *via quintana*, divided this space again into two equal parts. Originally that which extended along the *via principalis* was meant for the Roman troops; that which was situated nearest the *porta praetoria* being reserved for the allied forces. Smaller paths (*cardines* and *decumani*) separated off from one another the rectangular spaces (*strigae*) occupied by the tents. The hinder part of the camp (*i.e.*, not looking towards the enemy) was reserved for the general, his staff and body-guard. This part was also divided into two halves by a road, one hundred feet broad, parallel to the *via principalis.* The half immediately adjoining the *via principalis* formed in the middle of it a place two hundred feet square (*praetorium*), across which, starting from the *porta praetoria*, ran in a straight line the *decumanus maximus.* Upon the *praetorium* was pitched the tent of the commander-in chief (*tabernaculum ducis*, Tac. *Ann.* i. 29; Quintil. viii. 2. 8); the *tribunal* (*suggestus*, *B. G.* vi. 3) formed of heaped-up earth and covered with turf; the *ara*, *augurale* (*auguratorium*). Next to the *praetorium* on one side was the *forum*, the place set apart for the soldiers' *contiones*, where the commander-in-chief addressed them from the tribunal: on the other side was the *quaestorium*, or quarters of the quaestor. A little further, between these places and the entrenchment, were encamped on both sides the commander-in-chief's body-guard (*delecta manus imperatoris*, § 8). In front of the *praetorium*, *quaestorium*, and *forum*, and separating these spaces from

the *via principalis*, stood the tents of the military tribunes. Half that of the hinder part of the camp, nearest the *porta decumana*, was occupied by the encampments of the *pedites et equites extraordinarii* (§ 6) and *auxilia* (§ 7). The *via principalis* formed the central point for the communications of the camp.

Obs. When the ground allowed, the camp was so arranged that the *porta praetoria* formed the lowest part, the *porta decumana* the highest. Therefore Polybius (vi. 27. 3) says that the part facing the enemy was most suitable for those who went to look for forage and draw water ; in Caesar (ii. 24. 2) the *porta decumana* is on *summum iugum collis*, whence the camp slopes down towards the stream on the other side of which the enemy is stationed. [It was once wrongly supposed that Polybius and Hyginus did not agree as to the meaning of the expressions front and back of the camp (*pars antica*, *πρόσωπον*—*pars postica.*)]

5. The whole inner area of the camp was separated from the entrenchments which surrounded it by an unoccupied space 200 feet broad (*intervallum*), which helped to shelter the camp from missiles or fire thrown by the enemy. At the same time this space was useful for deploying troops, for storing baggage waggons, for penning cattle taken from the enemy. The sutlers (*lixae*) kept outside the *porta decumana*, along the entrenchments.

6. The Roman army did not pass a single night without a camp and entrenchments. As soon as they arrived at the place chosen, however fatiguing the march had been, they immediately set to work to make entrenchments under the direction of the centurions and the superintendence of two tribunes on duty. Every entrenchment consisted of an embank-

ment of earth (*agger*, *vallum*)[22] and a trench (*fossa*) dug in front, which provided the greater part of the earth required for the rampart. See *Bell. Civ.* iii. 63, 71. The outer slope was covered over with turf (*cespites*) and brushwood: often also the rampart was topped by a parapet (*lorica*, *loricula*) of palisades (*valli*) formed by branches of trees tied together, over which the soldier could fling his *pilum;* on the rampart wooden towers were often raised.

The *fossae* were of dimensions which varied according to the size of the rampart. According to Vegetius (i. 24) the normal dimensions, 12 feet broad by 9 feet deep, were considerably reduced in the ordinary and temporary fortifications of the camps. As a rule the breadth is alone mentioned, as being the more important (ii. 12, *id* [oppidum] *propter latitudinem fossae...expugnari non potuit*); that is why, when in Caesar we have a question of the size of a trench without any exact statement of its dimensions in breadth or depth, we must always think of the breadth (ii. 5, v. 42, vii. 36, 72, viii. 9; *Bell. Civ.* i. 42, iii. 63). And we may assume that the breadth was always in a fixed proportion to the depth.

When the rampart was completed the tents were pitched, being usually made of skins (*tentoria*, *pelles*, *sub pellibus esse*, *s.p. habere milites*). As a rule, ten men slept in the same tent and formed a 'mess'

[22] *Agger*=also the material of the embankment, the earth. *Vallus* is the stake, *vallum*, the palisade (*vallus* is also thus used collectively: *e.g.*, *Bell. Civ.* iii. 63. 1; *Bell. Alex.* 2). The rampart is formed by the palisade and the embankment on which it is fixed.

(*contubernium, contubernales*), under the command of a *decanus*.

A camp in which the army passed more than one night was called *castra stativa* (Liv. xxi. 35. 5, *biduum in iugo stativa habita;* xxvi. 9. 2, *ibi biduo stativa habita*). The *castra stativa* was either *aestiva* or *hiberna*. A camp of this kind was carefully fortified in its outer walls, principally by means of solid ramparts, strengthened with palisades and redoubts (*castella*).[23] The *castella* were closed works, usually rectangular, projecting, and as far as possible at equal distances on the line of environment. Use was also made of them in sieges on the line of countervallation, to furnish the defenders with strong points of support commanding the line at its two ends (i. 8, ii. 8, vii. 69; *Bell. Civ.* i. 18, iii. 44). To secure the gates there were breast-works with short trenches (*claviculae*); and the enemy, trying to force an entrance, had at the very gate to turn to the left, and therefore expose his right side (unprotected by a shield) to the defenders of the *clavicula*.

In the winter camp (*castra hiberna*) regular barracks were built to give the soldier more comfort and protect him against the weather (Liv. v. 2, *hibernacula a e d i f i c a r i*); they were covered with skins and straw (*casae stramenticiae*, v. 43, viii. 5; *Bell. Hisp.* 16). As a rule the winter quarters were not established in the towns, so as to

[23] *Castellum* also = a closed fort of less importance, an entrenched post; as *Bell. Civ.* iii. 36, *Favonium ad flumen Aliacmonem ... praesidio impedimentis reliquit castellumque muniri iussit.* See iii. 1. 4.

avoid conflict of the soldiers with the inhabitants; they formed special entrenched positions. Galba (iii. 1), establishing his winter quarters in a hamlet, compels the inhabitants to evacuate it.

7. In the earliest time the guard of the rampart was entrusted to the *velites;* when the enemy was near they bivouacked in front of the camp (*procubitores*), and supplied an outside guard in front of the gates. After the suppression of the *velites*, strong detachments were told off for this outside guard (*Bell. Civ.* iii. 50). Before Avaricum, *semper duae legiones pro castris excubabant*, vii. 24. Generally on outpost duty, in front of the camp gates, there were *in statione* one or two cohorts and one *turma equitum* (iv. 32, vi. 37). Originally they remained on guard from morning till evening, but later they were relieved at mid-day (Liv. xliv. 33. 11).

Excubiae (*excubitores, excubare*) = 'guard posts' in general, or 'pickets,' and not merely 'day guards,' vii. 11. 6 (cp. vii. 24. 2; 69. 7) *veritus, ne nocte ex oppido profugerent, duas legiones in armis excubare iubet.* On outside guards see *Bell. Civ.* iii. 50, 64. *Vigiliae* = 'night-guards' (Liv. ix. 24. 5, *diurnae stationes et nocturnae vigiliae*), each of four men. They were relieved four times from six o'clock in the evening to six o'clock in the morning, *i.e.*, every three hours, reckoned by the *clepsydra*, or water-clock. The term *vigilia* was accordingly used to measure time, *secunda, tertia, vigilia* (i. 12, 40; ii. 11, 33; *Bell. Civ.* ii. 3). The signal for relieving guard was given by the *bucinator* (§ 24).

Obs. *Vigiliae* always denotes a small guard; *stationes*, whole detachments; *custodiae, custodes*, 'sentinels' whose attention had to be fixed on a single object, *e.g.*, *custodiae portarum* (Liv. x. 4. 2) = sentries, vedettes. *Praesidium* is a detachment occupying a particular spot, in an extended sense the garrison of a town, or fortified post (vi. 33; vii. 36: *Bell. Civ.* i. 15). It also = the place where a garrison is stationed (vi. 34; vii. 34; *Bell. Civ.* iii. 36. 6; 45. 2) and also an 'escort,' as for instance, of baggage (ii. 19; *Bell. Civ.* i. 80; iii. 36), or a 'support,' *pabulatoribus praesidio esse* (*Bell. Civ.* i. 40, etc.).

For the night the watchword (*tessera*) was given by the commander-in-chief to the tribunes, praefect, and commanders of cavalry. These distributed it to the troops by means of a *tesserarius*, charged in each corps with this special duty.

§ 30. Sieges and Siege-works.

A fortified place was taken 1, by a sudden, brisk assault (*oppugnatio repentina*, *Bell Civ.* iii. 80), by filling in the trenches with earth and fascines (*crates*), *fossas aggere complere*, by breaking down the gates and making breaches in the walls, while the assailants came up and worked under moveable sheds (see § 31), or by scaling the walls.

2. When storming was impossible or unsuccessful, the place was invested or blockaded (*obsidere, obsessio, obsidione*, or *corona cingere, circumvallare urbem*). An investment was sufficient in many cases to effect the surrender of a town by preventing the arrival of all provisions; notably at such places as Alesia, which was well-fortified but badly provisioned (vii. 79, *erat oppidum in colle summo admodum edito loco, ut nisi obsidione expugnari non posse videretur*, cp. vii. 36. 1). It was sometimes used in open country, *e.g.*,

against Afranius (*Bell Civ.* i. 72 *sqq.*), against Pompey at Dyrrhachium (*Bell. Civ.* iii. 41 *sqq*). The investment was effected by means of *circumvallatio*, a continuous line of entrenchments (*munitiones, bracchia*) which joined together the several redoubts (*castella*). Behind this line, towards the open country, was pitched the camp of the besiegers, who were often told off to several camps to repel sorties made against separate parts of the line. Independently of this line directed against the besieged town (line of countervallation), another was laid fronting towards the open country and meant to check the possible arrival of a force to the rescue (line of circumvallation): see vii. 74.

3. By a regular attack by means of siege-works (*oppugnatio*). This method was used against very strong and well-victualled places, which could not be taken by blockade or *oppugnatio repentina.* The principal work in the *oppugnatio* was the *agger* or siege-mound, which, begun at some-distance from the place besieged, was gradually brought right up to the ramparts. It was made of earth, wattling and trunks of trees, in such a way that the two sides were often bound together by joists which ran through the solid earth, *e.g.*, at the siege of Marseilles (*Bell. Civ.* ii. 15). These pieces of wood could be set on fire (vii. 22, 24; *Bell. Civ.* ii. 2); and so at this siege the *agger* was further protected by a fencing of stone. It was raised, as a rule, to the height of the walls of the place under siege, so as to allow the assailants to fight at the same elevation as the defenders of the ramparts. Before Marseilles (*Bell. Civ.* ii. 1) it reached

the height of 80 feet; and likewise before Avaricum (vii. 24. 1 *n.*). This was of a breadth which appears extraordinary, viz., 330 feet. Towers also (*turres ambulatoriae*, *mobiles*) were built on the top (ii. 30, 31; vii. 22; Rüstow, p. 146, gives a different explanation) or beside the *agger* (vii. 17; see Rüstow, p. 145), of 3, 4, or even 10 storeys (*tabulata*). They were pushed up to the walls on wheels or rollers (ii. 12, 30, 31). As a rule, they served as batteries; for which purpose the higher storeys were armed with artillery. Drawbridges (*sambucae*[24]) could also be let down on the ramparts. In the lowest storey stood the engine for battering the walls (*aries*, ii. 32; vii. 23). The besieged endeavoured to destroy or overturn these towers by means of lighted darts, enormous stones and beams (*sudes*, *asseres*), which were launched by artillery (*Bell. Civ.* ii. 2), or they sallied out to set them on fire (*Bell. Civ.* ii. 14). To meet this the towers were protected with wet hides and coverings.

§ 31. Screen-Works.

During the raising of an earth-work, in other siege-works and during the attack itself, mantlets and roofed sheds were used for protection against missiles.

I. *Plutei*, 'screens,' simple protecting walls, made of wattled willows covered with skin, which were pushed forward on three rollers. *Plutei* were also used to protect entrenchments and walls (vii. 41), towers (vii. 25), and also ships (*Bell. Civ.* i. 25.)

[24] *Sambuca*, lit. 'a harp'; the arrangement of cords like harp-strings may have suggested the name.

II. *Roofed sheds.* All works with timber frames, or moveable sheds, under which the besieger approached the walls under cover, or broke them down or demolished them, were comprised under the name of 'tortoises' (χελῶναι, *testudines*[25]), in imitation of the Greeks, who, especially for siege works, were the teachers of the Romans. Under this name are included :—

1. *Vineae*[26] (vine arbours), moveable sheds (γερροχελώνη), light structures in wood, 8 feet high, 7 broad and 16 long, with at least four uprights and a flat roof, made of planks or of wattled osiers (*contextae viminibus*, *Bell. Civ.* ii. 2) closed in the same way at the sides, and protected against fire by skins, and wetted sacks or mattresses (*centones*). *Vineas agere* (ii. 12, 30 ; vii. 17 ; *Bell. Civ.* ii. 1), *proferre* (viii. 41).

2. *Musculi :* (*a*) χελώνη χωστρίς, *testudo, quae ad congestionem fossarum paratur* (Vitruv. x. 14), more solid than the *vineae*, used to protect the makers of earth-works. At the beginning of a siege this kind of 'tortoise' was carried forward against the town, to afford the soldiers a shelter while filling in the trenches. A sloping roof protected it in front and ran right down to the ground. According to Vitruvius it was 25 feet square. Before Marseilles (*Bell. Civ.* iii. 2) Trebonius made one of extraordinary size and strength.

[25] Siege-engines are usually called by the names of animals: *e.g.*, *aries*, *cuniculus*, *musculus*, *onager*, *scorpio*, *corvus* (an engine for battering).

[26] '*Vineae*, ad tegendos milites sub iis opus facientes et murum subruentes, vel aggerem iacientes ; iter munientes (vii. 58), sed etiam ad ipsa opera,' (Schneider).

(*b*) The *musculus* was also used as a sapper's hut in order to undermine the walls and excavate galleries (*cuniculi*) which gave an entrance into the town below the ramparts. It was exactly like (*a*), except that the roof above the front part appears unnecessary, as it had to be brought right up to the wall. It had to be very strong to resist the blocks of stone which the besieged flung down from above. We find the description of a *musculus* of this kind in the account of the siege of Marseilles (*Bell. Civ.* ii. 10). The length, however, there given, viz. 60 feet, is too great. Nipperdey allows forty feet, Göler (ii. p. 259) twenty, and Lipsius only nine.

The men who worked at the wall were also protected by the 'breach tortoise,' χελώνη διορυκτίς, shaped like a desk cover, mounted on wheels and covered with saturated skins.

3. *Testudo arietaria*, χελώνη κριοφόρος, meant, as its name implies, to protect the ram (*aries*). The ram, or engine for battering the walls, was a very strong beam, from sixty to a hundred and eighty feet long, with a head overlaid with iron; it was hung at several points to a horizontal joist under a roofed shed, thirty ells in length, and sixteen in height (see Vitruv. x. 19. 30); it was set in motion against the wall by its hinder end.

Other engines used for demolishing the walls are the 'wall-hooks' (*falces murales, asseres falcati*, iii. 14, v. 42; *falcibus vallum rescindere*, vii. 84, 86). They were hooks, shaped like a sickle, fastened to beams like the head of the battering-ram. The

besieged attempted to paralyse their action by drawing them up from below with cords, iron catches (*ancorae ferrae*), cranes (*tollenones*), capstans (*tormenta*, vii. 22). Use was made also of the 'wall-piercer' (*terebra*). It was a kind of ram, ending in an iron point, to pierce single holes in the ramparts.

§ 32. Heavy artillery.

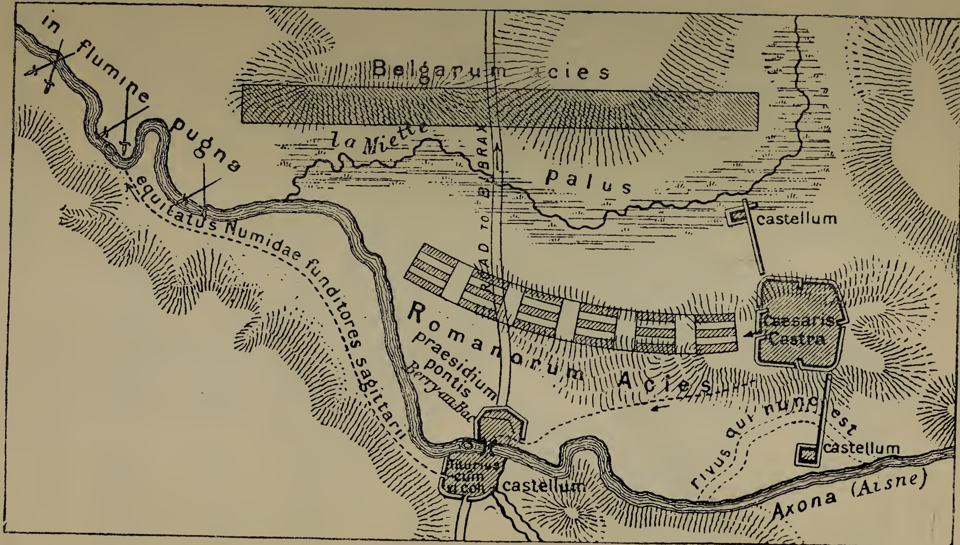
The heavy artillery may be described as consisting of 'cross-bows' of huge size, supplied with strong elastic cords, made of sinews or hair of animals (even women's hair, *Bell. Civ.* iii. 9). According to their projectiles they were divided into—

(1) Engines for hurling arrows, *catapultae*, *καταπάλται*, *scorpiones*[27] (vii. 25), which threw their projectiles horizontally or at a slight angle. However, as in Greek *καταπάλται*, so in Latin *catapultae* often = artillery of all kinds; thus in Caesar we find stones hurled by the catapults (*saxa ex catapultis*, *Bell. Civ.* ii. 9).

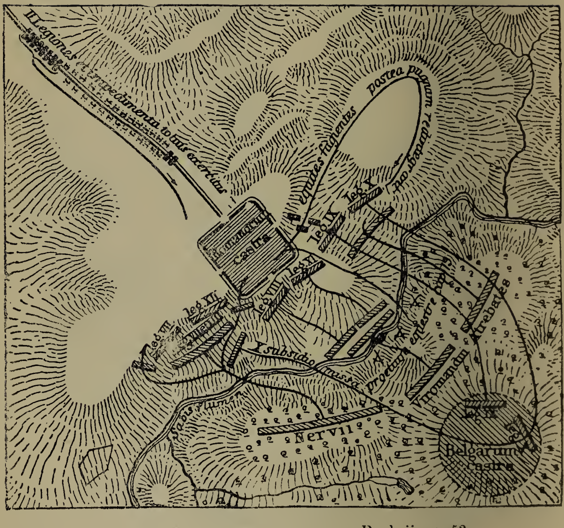
(2) *Ballistae*, *λιθοβόλοι*, hurling as a rule stones, sometimes huge beams; they were pointed at an angle under 45°.

Artillery was used in the defence of places as well as in attacking them. In the open field they were only used to defend a strong position at some distance from which it was desirable to keep the enemy, ii. 8; viii. 14. In the later days of the Empire they were also used in open fighting.

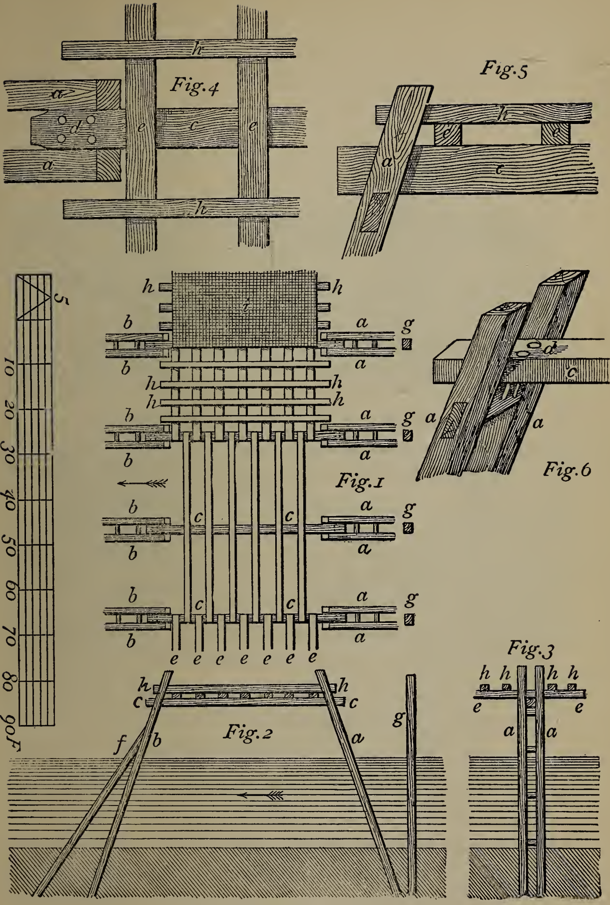
[27] *Scorpio* also = 'the arrow.'



THE POSITION ON THE AISNE—Book ii., p. 44.



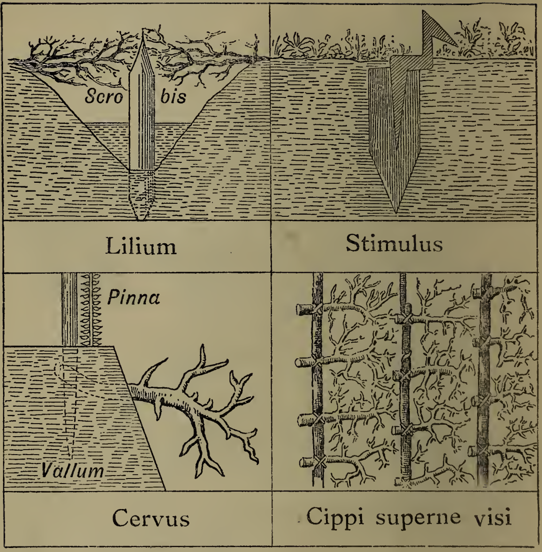
THE BATTLE WITH THE NERVII—Book ii., p. 53.



THE RHINE BRIDGE—Book iv., p. 90.

Fig. 1.—View of the bridge from above.
Fig. 2.—Front view of a cross-beam.
Fig. 3.—Side view of a cross-beam.
Fig. 6.—Perspective view of a cross-beam.
Fig. 4.—View of a cross-beam from above.
Fig. 5.—Front view of a cross-beam.
(Figs. 4 and 5—1 : 50.)

a. Bina tigna sesquipedalia. b. Alia bina tigna. c. Trabes bipedales. d. Binae fibulae. e. Materia directa. f. Sublicae obliquae. g. Defensores. h. Longurii. i. Crates.



WORKS AT ALESIA—Book vii., chap. 73.

C. IULI CAESARIS
DE BELLO GALLICO
COMMENTARIUS PRIMUS.

GALLIA est omnis divisa in partes tres, quarum unam 1 B.C. 58
incolunt Belgae, aliam Aquitani, tertiam, qui ipsorum lingua Celtae, nostra Galli appellantur. Hi omnes lingua, institutis, 2
legibus inter se differunt. Gallos ab Aquitanis Garumna flumen, a Belgis Matrona et Sequana dividit.
Horum omnium fortissimi sunt Belgae, propterea quod 3
a cultu atque humanitate provinciae longissime absunt, minimeque ad eos mercatores saepe commeant atque ea, quae ad effeminandos animos pertinent, important, proximique sunt Germanis, qui trans Rhenum incolunt, quibuscum continenter bellum gerunt. Qua de 4
causa Helvetii quoque reliquos Gallos virtute praecedunt, quod fere cotidianis proeliis cum Germanis contendunt, cum aut suis finibus eos prohibent aut ipsi in eorum finibus bellum gerunt. Eorum una pars, quam 5
Gallos obtinere dictum est, initium capit a flumine Rhodano, continetur Garumna flumine, Oceano, finibus Belgarum, attingit etiam ab Sequanis et Helvetiis

Gaul is divided into 3 parts, viz: Belgium, Gaul proper, and Aquitania.

umen Rhenum, vergit ad septentriones. Belgae ab extremis Galliae finibus oriuntur, pertinent ad inferiorem partem fluminis Rheni, spectant in septentrio-
/ nem et orientem solem. Aquitania a Garumna flumine ad Pyrenaeos montes et eam partem Oceani, quae est ad Hispaniam, pertinet; spectat inter occasum solis et septentriones.

Orgetorix persuades the Helvetii to conquer the whole of Gaul:

2 Apud Helvetios longe nobilissimus fuit et ditissimus Orgetorix. Is M. Messala et M. Pisone consulibus regni cupiditate inductus coniurationem nobilitatis fecit et civitati persuasit, ut de finibus suis cum omnibus copiis exi-
2 rent: perfacile esse, cum virtute omnibus praestarent,
3 totius Galliae imperio potiri. Id hoc facilius eis persuasit, quod undique loci natura Helvetii continentur: una ex parte flumine Rheno latissimo atque altissimo, qui agrum Helvetium a Germanis dividit, altera ex parte monte Iura altissimo, qui est inter Sequanos et Helvetios, tertia lacu Lemanno et flumine Rhodano,
4 qui provinciam nostram ab Helvetiis dividit. His rebus fiebat, ut et minus late vagarentur et minus facile finitimis bellum inferre possent; qua ex parte homines bellandi cupidi magno dolore afficiebantur.
5 Pro multitudine autem hominum et pro gloria belli atque fortitudinis angustos se fines habere arbitrabantur, qui in longitudinem milia passuum CCXL, in latitudinem CLXXX patebant.

their preparations:

3 His rebus adducti et auctoritate Orgetorigis permoti constituerunt, ea, quae ad proficiscendum pertinerent, comparare, iumentorum et carrorum quam maximum numerum coëmere, sementes

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quam maximas facere, ut in itinere copia frumenti sup-
peteret, cum proximis civitatibus pacem et amicitiam
confirmare. Ad eas res conficiendas biennium sibi 2
satis esse duxerunt: in tertium annum profectionem
lege confirmant. Ad eas res conficiendas Orgetorix 3
deligitur. Is sibi legationem ad civitates suscepit. In 4
eo itinere persuadet Castico, Catamanta-
loedis filio, Sequano, cuius pater regnum

the treachery of Orgetorix:

in Sequanis multos annos obtinuerat et a senatu
populi Romani amicus appellatus erat, ut regnum in
civitate sua occuparet, quod pater ante habuerat;
itemque Dumnorigi Aeduo, fratri Divitiaci, qui eo 5
tempore principatum in civitate obtinebat ac maxime
plebi acceptus erat, ut idem conaretur, persuadet
eique filiam suam in matrimonium dat. Perfacile 6
factu esse illis probat conata perficere, propterea quod
ipse suae civitatis imperium obtenturus esset: non
esse dubium, quin totius Galliae plurimum Helvetii
possent; se suis copiis suoque exercitu illis regna 7
conciliaturum confirmat. Hac oratione adducti inter 8
se fidem et iusiurandum dant et regno occupato per
tres potentissimos ac firmissimos populos totius Galliae
sese potiri posse sperant.

Ea res est Helvetiis per indicium enuntiata. Mo- **4**
ribus suis Orgetorigem ex vinclis causam
dicere coëgerunt. Damnatum poenam

his trial and death.

sequi oportebat, ut igni cremaretur. Die constituta 2
causae dictionis Orgetorix ad iudicium omnem suam
familiam, ad hominum milia decem, undique coëgit et
omnes clientes obaeratosque suos, quorum magnum
numerum habebat, eodem conduxit; per eos, ne

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3 causam diceret, se eripuit. Cum civitas ob eam rem incitata armis ius suum exsequi conaretur, multitudinemque hominum ex agris magistratus cogerent,
4 Orgetorix mortuus est; neque abest suspicio, ut Helvetii arbitrantur, quin ipse sibi mortem consciverit.

The Helvetii continue to prepare for their exodus,

5 Post eius mortem nihilo minus Helvetii id, quod constituerant, facere conantur, ut e finibus suis exeant.
2 Ubi iam se ad eam rem paratos esse arbitrati sunt, oppida sua omnia, numero ad duodecim, vicos ad quadringentos, reliqua
3 privata aedificia incendunt, frumentum omne, praeterquam quod secum portaturi erant, comburunt, ut domum reditionis spe sublata paratiores ad omnia pericula subeunda essent, trium mensum molita ci-
4 baria sibi quemque domo efferre iubent. Persuadent Rauricis et Tulingis et Latovicis finitimis, uti eodem usi consilio oppidis suis vicisque exustis una cum iis proficiscantur, Boiosque, qui trans Rhenum incoluerant et in agrum Noricum transierant Noreiamque oppugnarant, receptos ad se socios sibi adsciscunt.

and propose to march through 'the Province.'

6 Erant omnino itinera duo, quibus itineribus domo exire possent: unum per Sequanos, angustum et difficile, inter montem Iuram et flumen Rhodanum, vix qua singuli carri ducerentur; mons autem altissimus impendebat, ut facile perpauci
2 prohibere possent; alterum per provinciam nostram, multo facilius atque expeditius, propterea quod inter fines Helvetiorum et Allobrogum, qui nuper pacati erant, Rhodanus fluit isque nonnullis locis vado trans-
3 itur. Extremum oppidum Allobrogum est proximum-

que Helvetiorum finibus Genava. Ex eo oppido pons B.C. 58
ad Helvetios pertinet. Allobrogibus sese vel persuasuros, quod nondum bono animo in populum Romanum viderentur, existimabant, vel vi coacturos, ut per suos fines eos ire paterentur. Omnibus 4
rebus ad profectionem comparatis diem dicunt, qua die ad ripam Rhodani omnes conveniant. Is dies erat a. d. V. Kal. Apr. L. Pisone, A. Gabinio consulibus.

Caesari cum id nuntiatum esset, eos per provinciam 7
nostram iter facere conari, maturat ab urbe proficisci et, quam maximis potest itineribus, in Galliam ulteriorem contendit et ad Genavam pervenit. Provinciae toti 2
quam maximum potest militum numerum imperat—erat omnino in Gallia ulteriore legio una—, pontem, qui erat ad Genavam, iubet rescindi. Ubi de eius 3
adventu Helvetii certiores facti sunt, legatos ad eum mittunt nobilissimos civitatis, cuius legationis Nammeius et Verucloetius principem locum obtinebant, qui dicerent, sibi esse in animo sine ullo maleficio iter per provinciam facere, propterea quod aliud iter haberent nullum: rogare, ut eius voluntate id sibi facere liceat. Caesar, quod memoria tenebat, L. Cassium 4
consulem occisum exercitumque eius ab Helvetiis pulsum et sub iugum missum, concedendum non putabat; neque homines inimico animo data facultate 5
per provinciam itineris faciundi temperaturos ab iniuria et maleficio existimabat. Tamen, ut spatium 6
intercedere posset, dum milites, quos imperaverat, convenirent, legatis respondit, diem se ad deliberan-

C., then at Rome, objects strongly, and marches with all speed to Geneva.

A.U.C. 696 dum sumpturum: si quid vellent, ad Id. April. reverterentur.

8 Interea ea legione, quam secum habebat, militibusque, qui ex provincia convenerant, a lacu Lemanno, qui in flumen Rhodanum influit, ad montem Iuram, qui fines Sequanorum ab Helvetiis dividit, milia passuum decem novem murum in altitudinem pedum sedecim fossamque perducit.

He fortifies the south bank of the Rhone, which the enemy are unable to cross.

2 Eo opere perfecto praesidia disponit, castella communit, quo facilius, si se invito transire conarentur, prohibere possit.

3 Ubi ea dies, quam constituerat cum legatis, venit, et legati ad eum reverterunt, negat se more et exemplo populi Romani posse iter ulli per provinciam dare, et, si vim facere conentur, prohibiturum ostendit.

4 Helvetii, ea spe deiecti, navibus iunctis ratibusque compluribus factis, alii vadis Rhodani, qua minima altitudo fluminis erat, nonnumquam interdiu, saepius noctu, si perrumpere possent, conati, operis munitione et militum concursu et telis repulsi hoc conatu destiterunt.

9 Relinquebatur una per Sequanos via, qua Sequanis invitis propter angustias ire non poterant.

The other way through the lands of the Sequani, who allow the H. to pass.

2 His cum sua sponte persuadere non possent, legatos ad Dumnorigem Aeduum mittunt, ut eo deprecatore a Sequanis impetrarent.

3 Dumnorix gratia et largitione apud Sequanos plurimum poterat et Helvetiis erat amicus, quod ex ea civitate Orgetorigis filiam in matrimonium duxerat, et cupiditate regni adductus novis rebus studebat et quam plurimas civitates suo beneficio habere obstrictas volebat.

4 Itaque rem suscipit et a Sequanis

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impetrat, ut per fines suos Helvetios ire patiantur, obsidesque uti inter sese dent, perficit: Sequani, ne itinere Helvetios prohibeant, Helvetii, ut sine maleficio et iniuria transeant.

C. fearing for 'the Province' raises forces and with 5 legions follows the enemy.

10 Caesari renuntiatur, Helvetiis esse in animo per agrum Sequanorum et Aeduorum iter in Santonum fines facere, qui non longe a Tolosatium finibus absunt, quae civitas est in provincia. 2 Id si fieret, intellegebat, magno cum periculo provinciae futurum, ut homines bellicosos, populi Romani inimicos, locis patentibus maximeque frumentariis finitimos haberet. 3 Ob eas causas ei munitioni, quam fecerat, T. Labienum legatum praefecit; ipse in Italiam magnis itineribus contendit duasque ibi legiones conscribit et tres, quae circum Aquileiam hiemabant, ex hibernis educit et, qua proximum iter in ulteriorem Galliam per Alpes erat, cum his quinque legionibus ire contendit. 4 Ibi Ceutrones et Graioceli et Caturiges locis superioribus occupatis itinere exercitum prohibere conantur. 5 Compluribus his proeliis pulsis, ab Ocelo, quod est citerioris provinciae extremum, in fines Vocontiorum ulterioris provinciae die septimo pervenit; inde in Allobrogum fines, ab Allobrogibus in Segusiavos exercitum ducit. Hi sunt extra provinciam trans Rhodanum primi.

The Aedui and other tribes into whose lands the H. had come, ask C. for aid: he determines on immediate action.

11 Helvetii iam per angustias et fines Sequanorum suas copias traduxerant et in Aeduorum fines pervenerant eorumque agros populabantur. 2 Aedui, cum se suaque ab iis defendere non possent, legatos ad

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3 Caesarem mittunt rogatum auxilium: Ita se omni tempore de populo Romano meritos esse, ut paene in conspectu exercitus nostri agri vastari, liberi eorum in servitutem abduci, oppida expugnari non debuerint.
4 Eodem tempore Aedui Ambarri, necessarii et consanguinei Aeduorum, Caesarem certiorem faciunt, sese depopulatis agris non facile ab oppidis vim
5 hostium prohibere. Item Allobroges, qui trans Rhodanum vicos possessionesque habebant, fuga se ad Caesarem recipiunt et demonstrant, sibi praeter agri
6 solum nihil esse reliqui. Quibus rebus adductus Caesar non expectandum sibi statuit, dum omnibus fortunis sociorum consumptis in Santonos Helvetii pervenirent.

C. overtakes the H. as they are crossing the Arar, and annihilates one division of their army;

12 Flumen est Arar, quod per fines Aeduorum et Sequanorum in Rhodanum influit, incredibili lenitate, ita ut oculis, in utram partem fluat, iudicari non possit. Id Helvetii ratibus ac lintribus iunctis trans-
2 ibant. Ubi per exploratores Caesar certior factus est, tres iam partes copiarum Helvetios id flumen traduxisse, quartam fere partem citra flumen Ararim reliquam esse, de tertia vigilia cum legionibus tribus e castris profectus ad eam partem pervenit, quae
3 nondum flumen transierat. Eos impeditos et inopinantes aggressus magnam partem eorum concidit; reliqui sese fugae mandarunt atque in proximas silvas
4 abdiderunt. Is pagus appellabatur Tigurinus: nam omnis civitas Helvetia in quattuor pagos divisa est.
5 Hic pagus unus, cum domo exisset patrum nostrorum memoria, L. Cassium consulem interfecerat et eius

exercitum sub iugum miserat. Ita sive casu sive 6 B.C. 58
consilio deorum immortalium, quae pars civitatis Helvetiae insignem calamitatem populo Romano intulerat, ea princeps poenas persolvit. Qua in re 7
Caesar non solum publicas, sed etiam privatas iniurias ultus est, quod eius soceri L. Pisonis avum, L. Pisonem legatum, Tigurini eodem proelio, quo Cassium, interfecerant.

In a high tone they ask for peace.

Hoc proelio facto reliquas copias Helvetiorum ut 13
consequi posset, pontem in Arare faciendum curat atque ita exercitum traducit. Helvetii repentino eius adventu commoti, cum id, 2
quod ipsi diebus xx aegerrime confecerant, ut flumen transirent, illum uno die fecisse intellegerent, legatos ad eum mittunt; cuius legationis Divico princeps fuit, qui bello Cassiano dux Helvetiorum fuerat. Is 3
ita cum Caesare egit: Si pacem populus Romanus cum Helvetiis faceret, in eam partem ituros atque ibi futuros Helvetios, ubi eos Caesar constituisset atque esse voluisset; sin bello persequi perseveraret, remin- 4
isceretur et veteris incommodi populi Romani et pristinae virtutis Helvetiorum. Quod improviso unum 5
pagum adortus esset, cum ii, qui flumen transissent, suis auxilium ferre non possent, ne ob eam rem aut suae magnopere virtuti tribueret aut ipsos despiceret. Se ita a patribus maioribusque suis didicisse, ut magis 6
virtute contenderent quam dolo aut insidiis niterentur. Quare ne committeret, ut is locus, ubi 7
constitissent, ex calamitate populi Romani et internicione exercitus nomen caperet aut memoriam proderet.

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C. demands hostages and satisfaction for injuries done to the allies. The H. refuse.

14 His Caesar ita respondit: Eo sibi minus dubitationis dari, quod eas res, quas legati Helvetii commemorassent, memoria teneret, atque eo gravius ferre, quo minus merito populi
2 Romani accidissent: qui si alicuius iniuriae sibi conscius fuisset, non fuisse difficile cavere; sed eo deceptum, quod neque commissum a se intellegeret, quare timeret, neque sine causa timendum putaret.
3 Quod si veteris contumeliae oblivisci vellet, num etiam recentium iniuriarum, quod eo invito iter per provinciam per vim temptassent, quod Aeduos, quod Ambarros, quod Allobrogas vexassent, memoriam
4 deponere posse? Quod sua victoria tam insolenter gloriarentur quodque tam diu se impune tulisse
5 iniurias admirarentur, eodem pertinere. Consuesse enim deos immortales, quo gravius homines ex commutatione rerum doleant, quos pro scelere eorum ulcisci velint, his secundiores interdum res et diu-
6 turniorem impunitatem concedere. Cum ea ita sint, tamen, si obsides ab iis sibi dentur, uti ea, quae polliceantur, facturos intellegat, et si Aeduis de iniuriis, quas ipsis sociisque eorum intulerint, item si Allobrogibus satisfaciant, sese cum iis pacem esse
7 facturum. Divico respondit: Ita Helvetios a maioribus suis institutos esse, uti obsides accipere, non dare consuerint: eius rei populum Romanum esse testem. Hoc responso dato discessit.

They gain some advantage in a cavalry skirmish. C. follows them with caution.

15 Postero die castra ex eo loco movent. Idem facit Caesar equitatumque omnem ad numerum quattuor milium, quem ex omni provincia et Aeduis atque eorum sociis coactum

habebat, praemittit, qui videant, quas in partes hostes B.C. 58
2 iter faciant. Qui cupidius novissimum agmen insecuti alieno loco cum equitatu Helvetiorum proelium
3 committunt; et pauci de nostris cadunt. Quo proelio sublati Helvetii, quod quingentis equitibus tantam multitudinem equitum propulerant, audacius subsistere nonnumquam et novissimo agmine proelio nostros
4 lacessere coeperunt. Caesar suos a proelio continebat ac satis habebat in praesentia hostem rapinis, pabulationibus populationibusque prohibere.
5 Ita dies circiter quindecim iter fecerunt, uti inter novissimum hostium agmen et nostrum primum non amplius quinis aut senis milibus passuum interesset.

C. severely chides the Aedui for not sending him the corn which they had promised.

16 Interim cotidie Caesar Aeduos frumentum, quod essent publice polliciti, flagitare.
2 Nam propter frigora, quod Gallia sub septentrionibus, ut ante dictum est, posita est, non modo frumenta in agris matura non erant, sed ne
3 pabuli quidem satis magna copia suppetebat; eo autem frumento, quod flumine Arare navibus subvexerat, propterea minus uti poterat, quod iter ab Arare Helvetii averterant, a quibus discedere nolebat.
4 Diem ex die ducere Aedui: conferri, comportari,
5 adesse dicere. Ubi se diutius duci intellexit et diem instare, quo die frumentum militibus metiri oporteret, convocatis eorum principibus, quorum magnam copiam in castris habebat, in his Divitiaco et Lisco, qui summo magistratui praeerat, quem vergobretum appellant Aedui, qui creatur annuus et vitae necisque in suos
6 habet potestatem, graviter eos accusat, quod, cum neque emi neque ex agris sumi posset, tam necessario

A.U.C. 696 tempore, tam propinquis hostibus, ab iis non sublevetur, praesertim cum magna ex parte eorum precibus adductus bellum susceperit; multo etiam gravius, quod sit destitutus, queritur.

17 Tum demum Liscus oratione Caesaris adductus, quod antea tacuerat, proponit: Esse non-
2 nullos, quorum auctoritas apud plebem plurimum valeat, qui privatim plus possint quam ipsi magistratus: hos seditiosa atque improba oratione multitudinem deterrere, ne frumentum
3 conferant, quod debeant: praestare, si iam principatum Galliae obtinere non possint, Gallorum quam
4 Romanorum imperia perferre, neque dubitare, quin, si Helvetios superaverint Romani, una cum reliqua
5 Gallia Aeduis libertatem sint erepturi. Ab eisdem nostra consilia, quaeque in castris gerantur, hostibus
6 enuntiari: hos a se coërceri non posse. Quin etiam, quod necessaria re coactus Caesari enuntiarit, intellegere sese, quanto id cum periculo fecerit, et ob eam causam, quam diu potuerit, tacuisse.

Liscus informs him that this is due to Dumnorix brother of Divitiacus.

18 Caesar hac oratione Lisci Dumnorigem, Divitiaci fratrem, designari sentiebat, sed, quod pluribus praesentibus eas res iactari nolebat, celeriter concilium dimittit, Liscum retinet.
2 Quaerit ex solo ea, quae in conventu dixerat. Dicit
3 liberius atque audacius. Eadem secreto ab aliis quaerit; repperit esse vera: Ipsum esse Dumnorigem, summa audacia, magna apud plebem propter liberalitatem gratia, cupidum rerum novarum. Compluris annos portoria reliquaque omnia Aeduorum vectigalia parvo pretio redempta habere, propterea quod illo

C. confers with Liscus apart,

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licente contra liceri audeat nemo. His rebus et suam 4
rem familiarem auxisse et facultates ad largiendum
magnas comparasse; magnum numerum equitatus suo 5
sumptu semper alere et circum se habere, neque solum 6
domi, sed etiam apud finitimas civitates largiter posse,
atque huius potentiae causa matrem in Biturigibus
homini illic nobilissimo ac potentissimo collocasse,
ipsum ex Helvetiis uxorem habere, sororem ex matre 7
et propinquas suas nuptum in alias civitates collocasse.
Favere et cupere Helvetiis propter eam affinitatem, 8
odisse etiam suo nomine Caesarem et Romanos, quod
eorum adventu potentia eius deminuta et Divitiacus
frater in antiquum locum gratiae atque honoris sit
restitutus. Si quid accidat Romanis, summam in 9
spem per Helvetios regni obtinendi venire; imperio
populi Romani non modo de regno, sed etiam de ea,
quam habeat, gratia desperare. Reperiebat etiam in 10
quaerendo Caesar, quod proelium equestre adversum
paucis ante diebus esset factum, initium eius fugae
factum a Dumnorige atque eius equitibus—nam equitatui, quem auxilio Caesari Aedui miserant, Dumnorix praeerat— : eorum fuga reliquum esse equitatum
perterritum.

then with Divitiacus;

Quibus rebus cognitis, cum ad has suspiciones 19
certissimae res accederent, quod per fines Sequanorum Helvetios traduxisset, quod obsides inter eos dandos curasset, quod ea omnia non modo iniussu suo et civitatis sed etiam inscientibus ipsis fecisset, quod a magistratu Aeduorum accusaretur, satis esse causae arbitrabatur, quare in eum aut ipse animadverteret aut civitatem animadvertere

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2 iuberet. His omnibus rebus unum repugnabat, quod
Divitiaci fratris summum in populum Romanum stu-
dium, summam in se voluntatem, egregiam fidem,
iustitiam, temperantiam cognoverat: nam, ne eius
supplicio Divitiaci animum offenderet, verebatur.
3 Itaque prius, quam quicquam conaretur, Divitiacum
ad se vocari iubet et, cotidianis interpretibus remotis,
per C. Valerium Procillum, principem Galliae pro-
vinciae, familiarem suum, cui summam omnium rerum
4 fidem habebat, cum eo colloquitur; simul commone-
facit, quae ipso praesente in concilio Gallorum de
Dumnorige sint dicta, et ostendit, quae separatim
5 quisque de eo apud se dixerit. Petit atque hortatur,
ut sine eius offensione animi vel ipse de eo causa
cognita statuat vel civitatem statuere iubeat.

20 Divitiacus multis cum lacrimis Caesarem complexus obsecrare coepit, ne quid gravius in fra-

who pleads for his brother.

2 trem statueret: Scire se, illa esse vera,
nec quemquam ex eo plus quam se doloris capere,
propterea quod, cum ipse gratia plurimum domi atque
in reliqua Gallia, ille minimum propter adulescentiam
3 posset, per se crevisset; quibus opibus ac nervis non
solum ad minuendam gratiam, sed paene ad perniciem
suam uteretur. Sese tamen et amore fraterno et
4 existimatione vulgi commoveri. Quod si quid ei a
Caesare gravius accidisset, cum ipse eum locum amici-
tiae apud eum teneret, neminem existimaturum, non
sua voluntate factum: qua ex re futurum, uti totius
5 Galliae animi a se averterentur. Haec cum pluribus

C. pardons Dumnorix.

verbis flens a Caesare peteret, Caesar
eius dextram prendit: consolatus rogat,

finem orandi faciat; tanti eius apud se gratiam esse ostendit, uti et rei publicae iniuriam et suum dolorem eius voluntati ac precibus condonet. B.C. 58
6 Dumnorigem ad se vocat, fratrem adhibet; quae in eo reprehendat, ostendit; quae ipse intellegat, quae civitas queratur, proponit; monet, ut in reliquum tempus omnes suspiciones vitet; praeterita se Divitiaco fratri condonare dicit. Dumnorigi custodes ponit, ut, quae agat, quibuscum loquatur, scire possit.

C. resolves to attack the H. simultaneously in front and rear,

21 Eodem die ab exploratoribus certior factus, hostes sub monte consedisse milia passuum ab ipsius castris octo, qualis esset natura montis et qualis in circuitu ascensus, qui cognoscerent, misit. Renuntiatum est, facilem esse.
2 De tertia vigilia Titum Labienum, legatum pro praetore, cum duabus legionibus et iis ducibus, qui iter cognoverant, summum iugum montis ascendere iubet; quid sui consilii sit, ostendit.
3 Ipse de quarta vigilia eodem itinere, quo hostes ierant, ad eos contendit equitatumque omnem ante se mittit.
4 P. Considius, qui rei militaris peritissimus habebatur et in exercitu L. Sullae et postea in M. Crassi fuerat, cum exploratoribus praemittitur.

but is baulked by a false alarm.

22 Prima luce, cum summus mons a Labieno teneretur, ipse ab hostium castris non longius mille et quingentis passibus abesset,
2 neque, ut postea ex captivis comperit, aut ipsius adventus aut Labieni cognitus esset, Considius equo admisso ad eum accurrit; dicit, montem, quem a Labieno occupari voluerit, ab hostibus teneri: id se a Gallicis armis atque insignibus cognovisse.
3 Caesar suas copias in

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proximum collem subducit, aciem instruit. Labienus, ut erat ei praeceptum a Caesare, ne proelium committeret, nisi ipsius copiae prope hostium castra visae essent, ut undique uno tempore in hostes impetus fieret, monte occupato nostros exspectabat proelioque
4 abstinebat. Multo denique die per exploratores Caesar cognovit, et montem a suis teneri et Helvetios castra movisse et Considium timore perterritum, quod
5 non vidisset, pro viso sibi renuntiasse. Eo die, quo consuerat intervallo, hostes sequitur et milia passuum tria ab eorum castris castra ponit.

Marches for Bibracte followed by the H.

23 Postridie eius diei, quod omnino biduum supererat, cum exercitui frumentum metiri oporteret, et quod a Bibracte, oppido Aeduorum longe maximo et copiosissimo, non amplius milibus passuum XVIII aberat, rei frumentariae prospiciendum existimavit: iter ab Helvetiis avertit ac
2 Bibracte ire contendit. Ea res per fugitivos L. Aemilii, decurionis equitum Gallorum, hostibus nunti-
3 atur. Helvetii, seu quod timore perterritos Romanos discedere a se existimarent, eo magis, quod pridie superioribus locis occupatis proelium non commisissent, sive eo, quod re frumentaria intercludi posse confiderent, commutato consilio atque itinere converso nostros a novissimo agmine insequi ac lacessere coeperunt.

Tactics of C.,

24 Postquam id animum advertit, copias suas Caesar in proximum collem subducit equitatum-
2 que, qui sustineret hostium impetum, misit. Ipse interim in colle medio triplicem aciem instruxit legionum quattuor veteranarum, [ita uti supra]; sed in

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summo iugo duas legiones, quas in Gallia citeriore proxime conscripserat, et omnia auxilia collocari ac 3 totum montem hominibus compleri et interea sarcinas in unum locum conferri et eum ab his, qui in superiore acie constiterant, muniri iussit. Helvetii 4 cum omnibus suis carris secuti impedimenta in unum locum contulerunt; ipsi, confertissima acie reiecto 5 nostro equitatu phalange facta sub primam nostram aciem successerunt.

and of the H.

25 Caesar, primum suo, deinde omnium ex conspectu remotis equis, ut aequato omnium periculo spem fugae tolleret, cohortatus suos proelium commisit. Milites e loco superiore pilis missis facile 2 hostium phalangem perfregerunt. Ea disiecta gladiis 3 destrictis in eos impetum fecerunt. Gallis magno ad pugnam erat impedimento, quod pluribus eorum scutis uno ictu pilorum transfixis et colligatis, cum ferrum se inflexisset, neque evellere neque sinistra impedita satis commode pugnare poterant, multi ut diu iactato 4 brachio praeoptarent scutum manu emittere et nudo corpore pugnare. Tandem vulneribus defessi et pedem 5 referre et, quod mons suberat circiter mille passuum spatio, eo se recipere coeperunt. Capto monte et 6 succedentibus nostris, Boii et Tulingi, qui hominum milibus circiter XV agmen hostium claudebant et novissimis praesidio erant, ex itinere nostros latere aperto aggressi circumvenire, et id conspicati Helvetii, qui in montem sese receperant, rursus instare et proelium redintegrare coeperunt. Romani conversa signa 7 bipartito intulerunt: prima et secunda acies, ut victis ac submotis resisteret, tertia, ut venientes sustineret.

The battle.

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After hard fighting the H. are completely defeated.

26 Ita ancipiti proelio diu atque acriter pugnatum est. Diutius cum sustinere nostrorum impetus non possent, alteri se, ut coeperant, in montem receperunt, alteri ad impedimenta et carros
2 suos se contulerunt. Nam hoc toto proelio, cum ab hora septima ad vesperum pugnatum sit, aversum
3 hostem videre nemo potuit. Ad multam noctem etiam ad impedimenta pugnatum est, propterea quod pro vallo carros obiecerant et e loco superiore in nostros venientes tela coniciebant, et nonnulli inter carros rotasque mataras ac tragulas subiciebant nos-
4 trosque vulnerabant. Diu cum esset pugnatum, im-
5 pedimentis castrisque nostri potiti sunt. Ibi Orgetorigis filia atque unus e filiis captus est. Ex eo proelio circiter milia hominum CXXX superfuerunt eaque tota nocte continenter ierunt: nullam partem noctis itinere intermisso in fines Lingonum die quarto pervenerunt, cum et propter vulnera militum et propter sepulturam occisorum nostri triduum morati eos sequi
6 non potuissent. Caesar ad Lingonas litteras nuntiosque misit, ne eos frumento neve alia re iuvarent: qui si iuvissent, se eodem loco, quo Helvetios, habiturum. Ipse triduo intermisso cum omnibus copiis eos sequi coepit.

They surrender and are sent away home.

27 Helvetii omnium rerum inopia adducti legatos de
2 deditione ad eum miserunt. Qui cum eum in itinere convenissent seque ad pedes proiecissent suppliciterque locuti flentes pacem petissent, atque eos in eo loco, quo tum essent, suum
3 adventum exspectare iussisset, paruerunt. Eo postquam Caesar pervenit, obsides, arma, servos, qui ad

eos perfugissent, poposcit. Dum ea conquiruntur et 4 B.C. 58
conferuntur, nocte intermissa, circiter hominum milia sex eius pagi, qui Verbigenus appellatur, sive timore perterriti, ne armis traditis supplicio afficerentur, sive spe salutis inducti, quod in tanta multitudine dediticiorum suam fugam aut occultari aut omnino ignorari posse existimarent, prima nocte e castris Helvetiorum egressi ad Rhenum finesque Germanorum contenderunt.

Quod ubi Caesar resciit, quorum per fines ierant, **28**
his, uti conquirerent et reducerent, si sibi purgati esse vellent, imperavit: reductos in hostium numero habuit; reliquos omnes obsidibus, armis, perfugis 2
traditis in deditionem accepit. Helvetios, Tulingos, 3
Latovicos in fines suos, unde erant profecti, reverti iussit, et quod omnibus frugibus amissis domi nihil erat, quo famem tolerarent, Allobrogibus imperavit, ut iis frumenti copiam facerent: ipsos oppida vicosque, quos incenderant, restituere iussit. Id ea maxime 4
ratione fecit, quod noluit, eum locum, unde Helvetii discesserant, vacare, ne propter bonitatem agrorum Germani, qui trans Rhenum incolunt, e suis finibus in Helvetiorum fines transirent et finitimi Galliae provinciae Allobrogibusque essent. Boios, petentibus 5
Aeduis, quod egregia virtute erant cogniti, ut in finibus suis collocarent, concessit; quibus illi agros dederunt quosque postea in parem iuris libertatisque condicionem, atque ipsi erant, receperunt.

Documents are found giving statistics as to their numbers.

In castris Helvetiorum tabulae repertae sunt litteris **29**
Graecis confectae et ad Caesarem relatae, quibus in tabulis nominatim ratio confecta erat, qui numerus domo exisset

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eorum, qui arma ferre possent, et item separatim
2 pueri, senes mulieresque. Quarum omnium rerum summa erat capitum Helvetiorum milia CCLXIII, Tulingorum milia XXXVI, Latovicorum XIV, Rauracorum XXIII, Boiorum XXXII; ex his, qui arma ferre possent,
3 ad milia nonaginta duo. Summa omnium fuerunt ad milia CCCLXVIII. Eorum, qui domum redierunt, censu habito, ut Caesar imperaverat, repertus est numerus milium C et X.

CH. 30 TO END—THE GERMAN WAR.

Deputations of the Gauls to C.

30 Bello Helvetiorum confecto totius fere Galliae legati, principes civitatum, ad Caesarem gratu-
2 latum convenerunt: Intellegere sese, tametsi pro veteribus Helvetiorum iniuriis populi Romani ab his poenas bello repetisset, tamen eam rem non minus ex usu terrae Galliae quam populi Romani
3 accidisse, propterea quod eo consilio florentissimis rebus domos suas Helvetii reliquissent, uti toti Galliae bellum inferrent imperioque potirentur locumque domicilio ex magna copia deligerent, quem ex omni Gallia opportunissimum ac fructuosissimum iudicassent, reliquasque civitates stipendiarias haberent.
4 Petierunt, ut sibi concilium totius Galliae in diem certam indicere idque Caesaris voluntate facere liceret: sese habere quasdam res, quas ex communi consensu
5 ab eo petere vellent. Ea re permissa diem concilio constituerunt et iureiurando, ne quis enuntiaret, nisi quibus communi consilio mandatum esset, inter se sanxerunt.

Eo concilio dimisso idem principes civitatum, qui 31 B.C. 58
ante fuerant, ad Caesarem reverterunt
petieruntque, uti sibi secreto de sua om-
niumque salute cum eo agere liceret. Ea 2

Divitiacus begs for aid against the tyranny of Ariovistus.

re impetrata sese omnes flentes Caesari ad pedes pro-
iecerunt: Non minus se id contendere et laborare, ne
ea, quae dixissent, enuntiarentur, quam uti ea, quae
vellent, impetrarent, propterea quod, si enuntiatum
esset, summum in cruciatum se venturos viderent.
Locutus est pro his Divitiacus Aeduus: Galliae totius 3
factiones esse duas: harum alterius principatum
tenere Aeduos, alterius Arvernos. Hi cum tantopere 4
de potentatu inter se multos annos contenderent,
factum esse, uti ab Arvernis Sequanisque Germani
mercede arcesserentur. Horum primo circiter milia 5
XV Rhenum transisse; posteaquam agros et cultum et
copias Gallorum homines feri ac barbari adamassent,
traductos plures; nunc esse in Gallia ad centum et
XX milium numerum. Cum his Aeduos eorumque 6
clientes semel atque iterum armis contendisse; mag-
nam calamitatem pulsos accepisse, omnem nobilita-
tem, omnem senatum, omnem equitatum amisisse.
Quibus proeliis calamitatibusque fractos, qui et sua 7
virtute et populi Romani hospitio atque amicitia
plurimum ante in Gallia potuissent, coactos esse
Sequanis obsides dare nobilissimos civitatis et iure-
iurando civitatem obstringere, sese neque obsides
repetituros neque auxilium a populo Romano im-
ploraturos neque recusaturos, quo minus perpetuo
sub illorum dicione atque imperio essent. Unum se 8
esse ex omni civitate Aeduorum, qui adduci non

A.U.C. 696 potuerit, ut iuraret aut liberos suos obsides daret.
9 Ob eam rem se ex civitate profugisse et Romam ad senatum venisse auxilium postulatum, quod solus
10 neque iureiurando neque obsidibus teneretur. Sed peius victoribus Sequanis quam Aeduis victis accidisse, propterea quod Ariovistus, rex Germanorum, in eorum finibus consedisset tertiamque partem agri Sequani, qui esset optimus totius Galliae, occupavisset et nunc de altera parte tertia Sequanos decedere iuberet, propterea quod paucis mensibus ante Harudum milia hominum XXIIII ad eum venissent, quibus
11 locus ac sedes pararentur. Futurum esse paucis annis, uti omnes ex Galliae finibus pellerentur atque omnes Germani Rhenum transirent: neque enim conferendum esse Gallicum cum Germanorum agro, neque hanc
12 consuetudinem victus cum illa comparandam. Ariovistum autem, ut semel Gallorum copias proelio vicerit, quod proelium factum sit Admagetobrigae, superbe et crudeliter imperare, obsides nobilissimi cuiusque liberos poscere et in eos omnia exempla cruciatusque edere, si qua res non ad nutum aut ad
13 voluntatem eius facta sit. Hominem esse barbarum, iracundum, temerarium: non posse eius imperia diu-
14 tius sustinere. Nisi si quid in Caesare populoque Romano sit auxilii, omnibus Gallis idem esse faciendum, quod Helvetii fecerint, ut domo emigrent, aliud domicilium, alias sedes, remotas a Germanis, petant
15 fortunamque, quaecumque accidat, experiantur. Haec si enuntiata Ariovisto sint, non dubitare, quin de omnibus obsidibus, qui apud eum sint, gravissimum supplicium sumat. Caesarem vel auctoritate sua

atque exercitus vel recenti victoria vel nomine populi B.C. 58
Romani deterrere posse, ne maior multitudo Germanorum Rhenum traducatur, Galliamque omnem ab Ariovisti iniuria posse defendere.

The evil plight of the Sequani.

Hac oratione ab Divitiaco habita, omnes, qui ade- 32
rant, magno fletu auxilium a Caesare petere coeperunt. Animadvertit Caesar, 2
unos ex omnibus Sequanos nihil earum rerum facere, quas ceteri facerent, sed tristes capite demisso terram intueri. Eius rei quae causa esset, miratus ex ipsis 3
quaesiit. Nihil Sequani respondere, sed in eadem tristitia taciti permanere. Cum ab his saepius quaereret neque ullam omnino vocem exprimere posset, idem Divitiacus Aeduus respondit: Hoc esse miserio- 4
rem et graviorem fortunam Sequanorum quam reliquorum, quod soli ne in occulto quidem queri neque auxilium implorare auderent absentisque Ariovisti crudelitatem, velut si coram adesset, horrerent, propterea quod reliquis tamen fugae facultas daretur, Sequanis vero, qui intra fines suos 5
Ariovistum re cepissent, quorum oppida omnia in potestate eius essent, omnes cruciatus essent perferendi.

C. promises aid,

His rebus cognitis Caesar Gallorum animos verbis 33
confirmavit pollicitusque est, sibi eam rem curae futuram: magnam se habere spem, et beneficio suo et auctoritate adductum Ariovistum finem iniuriis facturum. Hac oratione habita con- 2
cilium dimisit. Et secundum ea multae res eum hortabantur, quare sibi eam rem cogitandam et suscipiendam putaret, imprimis, quod Aeduos, fratres

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consanguineosque saepenumero a senatu appellatos,
in servitute atque in dicione videbat Germanorum
teneri, eorumque obsides esse apud Ariovistum ac
Sequanos intellegebat; quod in tanto imperio populi
Romani turpissimum sibi et reipublicae esse arbitra-
3 batur. Paulatim autem Germanos consuescere Rhe-
num transire, et in Galliam magnam eorum multi-
tudinem venire, populo Romano periculosum videbat,
4 neque sibi homines feros ac barbaros temperaturos
existimabat, quin, cum omnem Galliam occupavissent,
ut ante Cimbri Teutonique fecissent, in provinciam
exirent atque inde in Italiam contenderent, praesertim
cum Sequanos a provincia nostra Rhodanus divideret;
quibus rebus quam maturrime occurrendum putabat.
5 Ipse autem Ariovistus tantos sibi spiritus, tantam
arrogantiam sumpserat, ut ferendus non videretur.

and summons A. to a conference, who scornfully refusing,

34 Quamobrem placuit ei, ut ad Ariovistum legatos
mitteret, qui ab eo postularent, uti ali-
quem locum medium utriusque colloquio
deligeret: velle sese de re publica et
2 summis utriusque rebus cum eo agere. Ei legationi
Ariovistus respondit: Si quid ipsi a Caesare opus
esset, sese ad eum venturum fuisse; si quid ille se
3 velit, illum ad se venire oportere. Praeterea se
neque sine exercitu in eas partes Galliae venire
audere, quas Caesar possideret, neque exercitum
sine magno commeatu atque molimento in unum
4 locum contrahere posse. Sibi autem mirum
videri, quid in sua Gallia, quam bello vicisset,
aut Caesari aut omnino populo Romano negotii
esset.

B.C. 58

His responsis ad Caesarem relatis, iterum ad eum 35
Caesar legatos cum his mandatis mittit:
Quoniam tanto suo populique Romani 2
beneficio affectus, cum in consulatu suo rex atque
amicus a senatu appellatus esset, hanc sibi populoque
Romano gratiam referret, ut in colloquium venire
invitatus gravaretur neque de communi re dicendum
sibi et cognoscendum putaret, haec esse, quae ab eo
postularet: primum, ne quam multitudinem hominum 3
amplius trans Rhenum in Galliam traduceret; deinde,
obsides, quos haberet ab Aeduis, redderet, Sequanis-
que permitteret, ut, quos illi haberent, voluntate eius
reddere illis liceret; neve Aeduos iniuria lacesseret,
neve his sociisque eorum bellum inferret. Si id ita 4
fecisset, sibi populoque Romano perpetuam gratiam
atque amicitiam cum eo futuram: si non impetraret,
sese, quoniam M. Messala, M. Pisone consulibus
senatus censuisset, uti, quicunque Galliam provinciam
obtineret, quod commodo reipublicae facere posset,
Aeduos ceterosque amicos populi Romani defenderet,
se Aeduorum iniurias non neglecturum.

is commanded to cease injuring the Gauls.

Ad haec Ariovistus respondit: Ius esse belli, ut, qui 36
vicissent, iis, quos vicissent, quemadmo-
dum vellent, imperarent: item populum
Romanum victis non ad alterius praescriptum, sed
ad suum arbitrium imperare consuesse. Si ipse 2
populo Romano non praescriberet, quemadmodum suo
iure uteretur, non oportere sese a populo Romano in
suo iure impediri. Aeduos sibi, quoniam belli fortu- 3
nam temptassent et armis congressi ac superati essent,
stipendiarios esse factos. Magnam Caesarem iniuriam 4

He answers defiantly.

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facere, qui suo adventu vectigalia sibi deteriora faceret.
5 Aeduis se obsides redditurum non esse, neque iis
neque eorum sociis iniuria bellum illaturum, si in eo
manerent, quod convenisset, stipendiumque quotannis
penderent; si id non fecissent, longe iis fraternum
6 nomen populi Romani afuturum. Quod sibi Caesar
denuntiaret, se Aeduorum iniurias non neglecturum,
7 neminem secum sine sua pernicie contendisse. Cum
vellet, congrederetur: intellecturum, quid invicti
Germani, exercitatissimi in armis, qui inter annos XIV
tectum non subissent, virtute possent.

C. determines to attack A.

37 Haec eodem tempore Caesari mandata referebantur,
et legati ab Aeduis et a Treveris venie-
2 bant: Aedui questum, quod Harudes,
qui nuper in Galliam transportati essent, fines eorum
popularentur: sese ne obsidibus quidem datis pacem
3 Ariovisti redimere potuisse; Treveri autem, pagos
centum Sueborum ad ripas Rheni consedisse, qui
Rhenum transire conarentur; his praeesse Nasuam et
4 Cimberium fratres. Quibus rebus Caesar vehementer
commotus maturandum sibi existimavit, ne, si nova
manus Sueborum cum veteribus copiis Ariovisti sese
5 coniunxisset, minus facile resisti posset. Itaque re
frumentaria, quam celerrime potuit, comparata magnis
itineribus ad Ariovistum contendit.

and occupies Vesontio.

38 Cum tridui viam processisset, nuntiatum est ei,
Ariovistum cum suis omnibus copiis ad
occupandum Vesontionem, quod est op-
pidum maximum Sequanorum, contendere triduique
2 viam a suis finibus profecisse. Id ne accideret, mag-
3 nopere sibi praecavendum Caesar existimabat. Nam-

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que omnium rerum, quae ad bellum usui erant, summa
erat in eo oppido facultas, idque natura loci sic
muniebatur, ut magnam ad ducendum bellum daret 4
facultatem, propterea quod flumen Dubis ut circino
circumductum paene totum oppidum cingit; reli- 5
quum spatium, quod est non amplius pedum mille
sexcentorum, qua flumen intermittit, mons continet
magna altitudine, ita, ut radices montis ex utraque 6
parte ripae fluminis contingant. Hunc murus circum-
datus arcem efficit et cum oppido coniungit. Huc 7
Caesar magnis nocturnis diurnisque itineribus con-
tendit occupatoque oppido ibi praesidium collocat.

The soldiers' dread of the Germans.

Dum paucos dies ad Vesontionem rei frumentariae **39**
commeatusque causa moratur, ex percon-
tatione nostrorum vocibusque Gallorum
ac mercatorum, qui ingenti magnitudine corporum
Germanos, incredibili virtute atque exercitatione in
armis esse praedicabant—saepenumero sese cum his
congressos ne vultum quidem atque aciem oculorum
dicebant ferre potuisse—, tantus subito timor omnem
exercitum occupavit, ut non mediocriter omnium
mentes animosque perturbaret. Hic primum ortus 2
est a tribunis militum, praefectis reliquisque, qui ex
urbe amicitiae causa Caesarem secuti non magnum in
re militari usum habebant: quorum alius alia causa 3
illata, quam sibi ad proficiscendum necessariam esse
diceret, petebat, ut eius voluntate discedere liceret;
nonnulli pudore adducti, ut timoris suspicionem vita-
rent, remanebant. Hi neque vultum fingere neque 4
interdum lacrimas tenere poterant: abditi in taber-
naculis aut suum fatum querebantur aut cum famili-

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5 aribus suis commune periculum miserabantur. Volgo
totis castris testamenta obsignabantur. Horum voci-
bus ac timore paulatim etiam ii, qui magnum in
castris usum habebant, milites centurionesque, quique
6 equitatui praeerant, perturbabantur. Qui se ex his
minus timidos existimari volebant, non se hostem
vereri, sed angustias itineris et magnitudinem silva-
rum, quae intercederent inter ipsos atque Ariovistum,
aut rem frumentariam, ut satis commode supportari
7 posset, timere dicebant. Nonnulli etiam Caesari nun-
tiarant, cum castra moveri ac signa ferri iussisset, non
fore dicto audientes milites neque propter timorem
signa laturos.

C. allays the panic;

40 Haec cum animadvertisset, convocato consilio om-
niumque ordinum ad id consilium adhi-
bitis centurionibus, vehementer eos incu-
savit: primum quod, aut quam in partem aut quo
consilio ducerentur, sibi quaerendum aut cogitandum
2 putarent. Ariovistum se consule cupidissime populi
Romani amicitiam appetisse: cur hunc tam temere
3 quisquam ab officio discessurum iudicaret? Sibi
quidem persuaderi, cognitis suis postulatis atque
aequitate condicionum perspecta eum neque suam
4 neque populi Romani gratiam repudiaturum. Quod
si furore atque amentia impulsus bellum intulisset,
quid tandem vererentur? aut cur de sua virtute aut
5 de ipsius diligentia desperarent? Factum eius hostis
periculum patrum nostrorum memoria, cum Cimbris
et Teutonis a Gaio Mario pulsis non minorem laudem
exercitus quam ipse imperator meritus videbatur;
factum etiam nuper in Italia servili tumultu, quos

tamen aliquid usus ac disciplina, quae a nobis ac- B.C. 58
cepissent, sublevarent. Ex quo iudicari posse, quan- 6
tum haberet in se boni constantia, propterea quod,
quos aliquamdiu inermos sine causa timuissent, hos
postea armatos ac victores superassent. Denique hos 7
esse eosdem, quibuscum saepenumero Helvetii con-
gressi non solum in suis, sed etiam in illorum finibus,
plerumque superarint, qui tamen pares esse nostro
exercitui non potuerint. Si quos adversum proelium 8
et fuga Gallorum commoveret, hos, si quaererent,
reperire posse, diuturnitate belli defatigatis Gallis,
Ariovistum, cum multos menses castris se ac paludi-
bus tenuisset neque sui potestatem fecisset, desperantes
iam de pugna et dispersos subito adortum, magis
ratione et consilio quam virtute vicisse. Cui rationi 9
contra homines barbaros atque imperitos locus fuisset,
hac ne ipsum quidem sperare nostros exercitus capi
posse. Qui suum timorem in rei frumentariae simula- 10
tionem angustiasque itineris conferrent, facere arro-
ganter, cum aut de officio imperatoris desperare aut
praescribere viderentur. Haec sibi esse curae, fru- 11
mentum Sequanos, Leucos, Lingones subministrare,
iamque esse in agris frumenta matura; de itinere
ipsos brevi tempore iudicaturos. Quod non fore dicto 12
audientes neque signa laturi dicantur, nihil se ea re
commoveri: scire enim, quibuscumque exercitus dicto
audiens non fuerit, aut male re gesta fortunam defuisse
aut aliquo facinore comperto avaritiam esse convictam:
suam innocentiam perpetua vita, felicitatem Helveti- 13
orum bello esse perspectam. Itaque se, quod in 14
longiorem diem collaturus fuisset, repraesentaturum

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et proxima nocte de quarta vigilia castra moturum, ut quam primum intellegere posset, utrum apud eos pudor atque officium an timor valeret. Quod si praeterea nemo sequatur, tamen se cum sola decima legione iturum, de qua non dubitaret, sibique eam praetoriam cohortem futuram. Huic legioni Caesar et indulserat praecipue et propter virtutem confidebat maxime.

and resumes his march against A.

41 Hac oratione habita mirum in modum conversae sunt omnium mentes summaque alacritas et cupiditas belli gerendi innata est, princepsque decima legio per tribunos militum ei
2 gratias egit, quod de se optimum iudicium fecisset, seque esse ad bellum gerendum paratissimam con-
3 firmavit. Deinde reliquae legiones cum tribunis militum et primorum ordinum centurionibus egerunt, uti Caesari satisfacerent: se nec umquam dubitasse neque timuisse, neque de summa belli suum iudicium,
4 sed imperatoris esse existimavisse. Eorum satisfactione accepta et itinere exquisito per Divitiacum, quod ex aliis ei maximam fidem habebat, ut milium amplius quinquaginta circuitu locis apertis exercitum duceret, de quarta vigilia, ut dixerat, profectus est.
5 Septimo die, cum iter non intermitteret, ab exploratoribus certior factus est, Ariovisti copias a nostris milibus passuum quattuor et xx abesse.

A conference.

42 Cognito Caesaris adventu Ariovistus legatos ad eum mittit: quod antea de colloquio postulasset, id per se fieri licere, quoniam propius accessisset, seque id sine periculo facere posse existimare.
2 Non respuit condicionem Caesar, iamque eum ad sani-

tatem reverti arbitrabatur, cum id, quod antea petenti B.C. 58
denegasset, ultro polliceretur, magnamque in spem 3
veniebat, pro suis tantis populique Romani in eum
beneficiis, cognitis suis postulatis, fore, uti pertinacia
desisteret. Dies colloquio dictus est ex eo die quintus.
Interim saepe ultro citroque cum legati inter eos mit- 4
terentur, Ariovistus postulavit, ne quem peditem ad
colloquium Caesar adduceret: vereri se, ne per in-
sidias ab eo circumveniretur; uterque cum equitatu
veniret: alia ratione sese non esse venturum. Caesar, 5
quod neque colloquium interposita causa tolli volebat
neque salutem suam Gallorum equitatui committere
audebat, commodissimum esse statuit, omnibus equis
Gallis equitibus detractis, eo legionarios milites le-
gionis decimae, cui quam maxime confidebat, imponere,
ut praesidium quam amicissimum, si quid opus facto
esset, haberet. Quod cum fieret, non irridicule quidam 6
ex militibus decimae legionis dixit: plus, quam pol-
licitus esset, Caesarem facere: pollicitum, se in co-
hortis praetoriae loco decimam legionem habiturum,
ad equum rescribere.

Planicies erat magna et in ea tumulus terrenus **43**
satis grandis. Hic locus aequo fere spatio ab castris
Ariovisti et Caesaris aberat. Eo, ut erat dictum, ad
colloquium venerunt. Legionem Caesar, quam equis 2
vexerat, passibus ducentis ab eo tumulo constituit.
Item equites Ariovisti pari intervallo constiterunt. 3
Ariovistus, ex equis ut colloquerentur et praeter se
denos ut ad colloquium adducerent, postulavit. Ubi 4
eo ventum est, Caesar initio orationis sua *The demands of C.*
senatusque in eum beneficia commemo-

A.U.C. 696 ravit, quod rex appellatus esset a senatu, quod amicus, quod munera amplissime missa; quam rem et paucis contigisse et pro magnis hominum officiis consuesse
5 tribui docebat; illum, cum neque aditum neque causam postulandi iustam haberet, beneficio ac liberalitate sua
6 ac senatus ea praemia consecutum. Docebat etiam, quam veteres quamque iustae causae necessitudinis
7 ipsis cum Aeduis intercederent, quae senatusconsulta quotiens quamque honorifica in eos facta essent, ut omni tempore totius Galliae principatum Aedui tenuissent, prius etiam, quam nostram amicitiam appetis-
8 sent. Populi Romani hanc esse consuetudinem, ut socios atque amicos non modo sui nihil deperdere, sed
9 gratia, dignitate, honore auctiores velit esse; quod vero ad amicitiam populi Romani attulissent, id iis eripi quis pati posset? Postulavit deinde eadem, quae legatis in mandatis dederat: ne aut Aeduis aut eorum sociis bellum inferret; obsides redderet; si nullam partem Germanorum domum remittere posset, at ne quos amplius Rhenum transire pateretur.

44 Ariovistus ad postulata Caesaris pauca respondit,
A.'s answer. de suis virtutibus multa praedicavit:
2 Transisse Rhenum sese non sua sponte, sed rogatum et arcessitum a Gallis; non sine magna spe magnisque praemiis domum propinquosque reliquisse; sedes habere in Gallia ab ipsis concessas, obsides ipsorum voluntate datos; stipendium capere iure belli, quod
3 victores victis imponere consuerint. Non sese Gallis, sed Gallos sibi bellum intulisse: omnes Galliae civitates ad se oppugnandum venisse ac contra se castra habuisse; eas omnes copias a se uno proelio pulsas ac

superatas esse. Si iterum experiri velint, se iterum 4 B.C. 58
paratum esse decertare; si pace uti velint, iniquum
esse de stipendio recusare, quod sua voluntate ad id
tempus pependerint. Amicitiam populi Romani sibi 5
ornamento et praesidio, non detrimento esse oportere,
idque se ea spe petisse. Si per populum Romanum
stipendium remittatur et dediticii subtrahantur, non
minus libenter sese recusaturum populi Romani ami-
citiam, quam appetierit. Quod multitudinem Ger- 6
manorum in Galliam traducat, id se sui muniendi,
non Galliae impugnandae causa facere: eius rei testi-
monium esse, quod nisi rogatus non venerit et quod
bellum non intulerit, sed defenderit. Se prius in 7
Galliam venisse quam populum Romanum. Numquam
ante hoc tempus exercitum populi Romani Galliae
provinciae finibus egressum. Quid sibi vellet? Cur 8
in suas possessiones veniret? Provinciam suam hanc
esse Galliam, sicut illam nostram. Ut ipsi concedi
non oporteret, si in nostros fines impetum faceret, sic
item nos esse iniquos, quod in suo iure se interpella-
remus. Quod fratres Aeduos appellatos diceret, non 9
se tam barbarum neque tam imperitum esse rerum,
ut non sciret, neque bello Allobrogum proximo
Aeduos Romanis auxilium tulisse, neque ipsos in his
contentionibus, quas Aedui secum et cum Sequanis
habuissent, auxilio populi Romani usos esse. Debere 10
se suspicari, simulata Caesarem amicitia, quod ex-
ercitum in Gallia habeat, sui opprimendi causa habere.
Qui nisi decedat atque exercitum deducat ex his regi- 11
onibus, sese illum non pro amico, sed hoste habiturum.
Quodsi eum interfecerit, multis sese nobilibus princi- 12

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pibusque populi Romani gratum esse facturum: id se
ab ipsis per eorum nuntios compertum habere, quorum
omnium gratiam atque amicitiam eius morte redimere
13 posset. Quodsi discessisset et liberam possessionem
Galliae sibi tradidisset, magno se illum praemio re-
muneraturum et, quaecumque bella geri vellet, sine
ullo eius labore et periculo confecturum.

45 Multa ab Caesare in eam sententiam dicta sunt,
C. begins to reply. quare negotio desistere non posset, neque
suam neque populi Romani consuetudinem pati, uti
optime merentes socios desereret, neque se iudicare,
Galliam potius esse Ariovisti quam populi Romani.
2 Bello superatos esse Arvernos et Rutenos ab Quinto
Fabio Maximo, quibus populus Romanus ignovisset
neque in provinciam redegisset neque stipendium im-
3 posuisset. Quodsi antiquissimum quodque tempus
spectari oporteret, populi Romani iustissimum esse in
Gallia imperium; si iudicium senatus observari opor-
teret, liberam debere esse Galliam, quam bello victam
suis legibus uti voluisset.

46 Dum haec in colloquio geruntur, Caesari nuntiatum
C.'s foresight baulks A.'s treachery. est, equites Ariovisti propius tumulum
accedere et ad nostros adequitare,
2 lapides telaque in nostros conicere. Caesar loquendi
finem facit seque ad suos recepit suisque imperavit,
3 ne quod omnino telum in hostes reicerent. Nam etsi
sine ullo periculo legionis delectae cum equitatu proe-
lium fore videbat, tamen committendum non putabat,
ut pulsis hostibus dici posset, eos ab se per fidem in
4 colloquio circumventos. Posteaquam in volgus mili-
tum elatum est, qua arrogantia in colloquio Ariovistus

B.C. 58

usus omni Gallia Romanis interdixisset, impetumque
in nostros eius equites fecissent, eaque res colloquium
ut diremisset, multo maior alacritas studiumque pug-
nandi maius exercitui iniectum est.

A second conference. A. seizes the two Gauls whom C. had sent to represent him.

Biduo post Ariovistus ad Caesarem legatos mittit: 47
Velle se de his rebus, quae inter eos agi
coeptae neque perfectae essent, agere
cum eo; uti aut iterum colloquio diem
constitueret aut, si id minus vellet, e suis [legatis]
aliquem ad se mitteret. Colloquendi Caesari causa 2
visa non est, et eo magis, quod pridie eius diei Ger-
mani retineri non potuerant, quin in nostros tela con-
icerent. Legatum e suis sese magno cum periculo ad 3
eum missurum et hominibus feris obiectum existima-
bat. Commodissimum visum est Gaium Valerium 4
Procillum, C. Valeri Caburi filium, summa virtute et
humanitate adulescentem, cuius pater a Gaio Valerio
Flacco civitate donatus erat, et propter linguae Gal-
licae scientiam, qua multa iam Ariovistus longinqua
consuetudine utebatur, et quod in eo peccandi Ger-
manis causa non esset, ad eum mittere, et Marcum
Metium, qui hospitio Ariovisti utebatur. His man- 5
davit, ut, quae diceret Ariovistus, cognoscerent et ad
se referrent. Quos cum apud se in castris Ariovistus 6
conspexisset, exercitu suo praesente conclamavit:
Quid ad se venirent? an speculandi causa? Conantes
dicere prohibuit et in catenas coniecit.

A. draws near: a cavalry skirmish.

Eodem die castra promovit et milibus passuum sex 48
a Caesaris castris sub monte consedit.
Postridie eius diei praeter castra Caesaris 2
suas copias traduxit et milibus passuum duobus ultra

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eum castra fecit eo consilio, uti frumento comme-
atuque, qui ex Sequanis et Aeduis supportaretur,
3 Caesarem intercluderet. Ex eo die dies continuos
quinque Caesar pro castris suas copias produxit et
aciem instructam habuit, ut, si vellet Ariovistus proe-
4 lio contendere, ei potestas non deesset. Ariovistus his
omnibus diebus exercitum castris continuit, equestri
proelio cotidie contendit. Genus hoc erat pugnae,
5 quo se Germani exercuerant. Equitum milia erant sex,
totidem numero pedites velocissimi ac fortissimi, quos
ex omni copia singuli singulos suae salutis causa
6 delegerant: cum his in proeliis versabantur. Ad eos
se equites recipiebant: hi, si quid erat durius, con-
currebant, si qui graviore vulnere accepto equo de-
7 ciderat, circumsistebant; si quo erat longius pro-
deundum aut celerius recipiendum, tanta erat horum
exercitatione celeritas, ut iubis equorum sublevati
cursum adaequarent.

49 Ubi eum castris se tenere Caesar intellexit, ne
More skirmishes. diutius commeatu prohiberetur, ultra eum
locum, quo in loco Germani consederant, circiter
passus sexcentos ab iis, castris idoneum locum delegit
2 acieque triplici instructa ad eum locum venit. Pri-
mam et secundam aciem in armis esse, tertiam castra
3 munire iussit. Hic locus ab hoste circiter passus
sexcentos, uti dictum est, aberat. Eo circiter homi-
num numero sedecim milia expedita cum omni equi-
tatu Ariovistus misit, quae copiae nostros perterrerent
4 et munitione prohiberent. Nihilo secius Caesar, ut
ante constituerant, duas acies hostem propulsare, ter-
5 tiam opus perficere iussit. Munitis castris duas ibi

legiones reliquit et partem auxiliorum, quattuor reli- B.C. 58
quas in castra maiora reduxit.

Proximo die instituto suo Caesar e castris utriusque **50**
copias suas eduxit paulumque a maioribus castris
progressus aciem instruxit, hostibus pugnandi pote-
statem fecit. Ubi ne tum quidem eos prodire intel- 2
lexit, circiter meridiem exercitum in castra reduxit.
Tum demum Ariovistus partem suarum copiarum,
quae castra minora oppugnaret, misit. Acriter utrim-
que usque ad vesperum pugnatum est. Solis occasu 3
suas copias Ariovistus multis et illatis et acceptis
vulneribus in castra reduxit. Cum ex captivis quae- 4
reret Caesar, quamobrem Ariovistus proelio non
decertaret, hanc reperiebat causam, quod apud Ger-
manos ea consuetudo esset, ut matresfamiliae eorum
sortibus et vaticinationibus declararent, utrum proe-
lium committi ex usu esset necne; eas ita dicere:
non esse fas Germanos superare, si ante novam lunam 5
proelio contendissent.

A.'s forces compelled to fight are routed and flee to the Rhine.

Postridie eius diei Caesar praesidium utrisque ca- **51**
stris quod satis esse visum est, reliquit,
omnis alarios in conspectu hostium pro
castris minoribus constituit, quod minus
multitudine militum legionariorum pro hostium numero
valebat, ut ad speciem alariis uteretur; ipse triplici
instructa acie usque ad castra hostium accessit. Tum 2
demum necessario Germani suas copias castris eduxe-
runt generatimque constituerunt paribus intervallis,
Harudes, Marcomanos, Triboces, Vangiones, Nemetes,
Sedusios, Suebos, omnemque aciem suam redis et
carris circumdederunt, ne qua spes in fuga relinque-

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3 retur. Eo mulieres imposuerunt, quae in proelium proficiscentes passis manibus flentes implorabant, ne se in servitutem Romanis traderent.

52 Caesar singulis legionibus singulos legatos et quaestorem praefecit, uti eos testes suae quisque virtutis
2 haberet; ipse a dextro cornu, quod eam partem minime firmam hostium esse animadverterat, proelium
3 commisit. Ita nostri acriter in hostes signo dato impetum fecerunt, itaque hostes repente celeriterque procurrerunt, ut spatium pila in hostes coniciendi
4 non daretur. Reiectis pilis comminus gladiis pugnatum est. At Germani celeriter ex consuetudine sua
5 phalange facta impetus gladiorum exceperunt. Reperti sunt complures nostri milites, qui in phalangas insilirent et scuta manibus revellerent [et desuper
6 vulnerarent]. Cum hostium acies a sinistro cornu pulsa atque in fugam conversa esset, a dextro cornu vehementer multitudine suorum nostram aciem pre-
7 mebant. Id cum animadvertisset Publius Crassus adulescens, qui equitatui praeerat, quod expeditior erat quam ii, qui inter aciem versabantur, tertiam aciem laborantibus nostris subsidio misit.

53 Ita proelium restitutum est, atque omnes hostes terga verterunt neque prius fugere destiterunt, quam ad flumen Rhenum milia passuum ex eo loco circiter
2 quinque pervenerunt. Ibi perpauci aut viribus confisi tranare contenderunt aut lintribus inventis sibi salu-
3 tem reppererunt. In his fuit Ariovistus, qui naviculam deligatam ad ripam nactus ea profugit; reliquos
4 omnes equitatu consecuti nostri interfecerunt. Duae fuerunt Ariovisti uxores, una Sueba natione, quam

B.C. 58

domo secum duxerat, altera Norica, regis Voccionis soror, quam in Gallia duxerat a fratre missam: utraque in ea fuga perit. Fuerunt duae filiae: harum altera occisa, altera capta est. 5 Gaius Valerius Procillus, cum a custodibus in fuga trinis catenis vinctus traheretur, in ipsum Caesarem hostis equitatu persequentem incidit. 6 Quae quidem res Caesari non minorem quam ipsa victoria voluptatem attulit, quod hominem honestissimum provinciae Galliae, suum familiarem et hospitem, ereptum e manibus hostium, sibi restitutum videbat, neque eius calamitate de tanta voluptate et gratulatione quicquam fortuna deminuerat. 7 Is se praesente de se ter sortibus consultum dicebat, utrum igni statim necaretur an in aliud tempus reservaretur: sortium beneficio se esse incolumem. 8 Item Marcus Metius repertus et ad eum reductus est.

Recovery and tale of Procillus and Metius.

54 Hoc proelio trans Rhenum nuntiato Suebi, qui ad ripas Rheni venerant, domum reverti coeperunt; quos Ubii, qui proximi Rhenum incolunt, perterritos insecuti, magnum ex iis numerum occiderunt. 2 Caesar, una aestate duobus maximis bellis confectis, maturius paulo, quam tempus anni postulabat, in hiberna in Sequanos exercitum deduxit; 3 hibernis Labienum praeposuit; ipse in citeriorem Galliam ad conventus agendos profectus est.

C.'s arrangements for the winter.

C. IULI CAESARIS
DE BELLO GALLICO
COMMENTARIUS SECUNDUS.

WAR WITH THE BELGAE.

A.U.C. 697

News of a conspiracy of the united Belgae.

1 Cum esset Caesar in citeriore Gallia, ita uti supra
demonstravimus, crebri ad eum rumores
afferebantur, litterisque item Labieni
certior fiebat, omnes Belgas, quam tertiam esse Gal-
liae partem dixeramus, contra populum Romanum
2 coniurare obsidesque inter se dare. Coniurandi has
esse causas: primum, quod vererentur, ne omni pacata
3 Gallia ad eos exercitus noster adduceretur; deinde,
quod ab nonnullis Gallis sollicitarentur, partim qui,
ut Germanos diutius in Gallia versari noluerant, ita
populi Romani exercitum hiemare atque inveterascere
in Gallia moleste ferebant, partim qui mobilitate et
4 levitate animi novis imperiis studebant; ab nonnullis
etiam, quod in Gallia a potentioribus atque iis, qui
ad conducendos homines facultates habebant, volgo
regna occupabantur, qui minus facile eam rem imperio
nostro consequi poterant.

2 His nuntiis litterisque commotus Caesar duas le-

B.C. 57

giones in citeriore Gallia novas conscripsit et inita
aestate, in interiorem Galliam qui dedu-
ceret, Quintum Pedium legatum misit.

Caesar joins his army.

Ipse, cum primum pabuli copia esse inciperet, ad exerci- 2
tum venit. Dat negotium Senonibus reliquisque Gallis, 3
qui finitimi Belgis erant, uti ea, quae apud eos gerantur,
cognoscant seque de his rebus certiorem faciant. Hi 4
constanter omnes nuntiaverunt manus cogi, exercitum
in unum locum conduci. Tum vero dubitandum non 5
existimavit, quin ad eos proficisceretur. Re frumen- 6
taria comparata castra movet diebusque circiter quin-
decim ad fines Belgarum pervenit.

Eo cum de improviso celeriusque omni opinione **3**
venisset, Remi, qui proximi Galliae ex
Belgis sunt, ad eum legatos Iccium et

Voluntary submission of the Remi.

Andecumborium, primos civitatis, miserunt, qui di- 2
cerent, se suaque omnia in fidem atque in potestatem
populi Romani permittere, neque se cum Belgis reliquis
consensisse neque contra populum Romanum coniur-
asse, paratosque esse et obsides dare et imperata 3
facere et oppidis recipere et frumento ceterisque rebus
iuvare; reliquos omnes Belgas in armis esse, Germa- 4
nosque, qui cis Rhenum incolant, sese cum his coniunx-
isse, tantumque esse eorum omnium furorem, ut ne 5
Suessiones quidem, fratres consanguineosque suos, qui
eodem iure et isdem legibus utantur, unum imperium
unumque magistratum cum ipsis habeant, deterrere
potuerint, quin cum his consentirent.

Cum ab his quaereret, quae civitates quantaeque in **4**
armis essent et quid in bello possent, sic
reperiebat: Plerosque Belgas esse ortos

Numbers and power of the Belgian confederacy.

A.U.C. 697 ab Germanis Rhenumque antiquitus traductos propter 2 loci fertilitatem ibi consedisse Gallosque, qui ea loca incolerent, expulisse solosque esse, qui patrum nostrorum memoria omni Gallia vexata Teutonos Cimbros-3 que intra fines suos ingredi prohibuerint: qua ex re fieri, uti earum rerum memoria magnam sibi auctoritatem magnosque spiritus in re militari sumerent. 4 De numero eorum omnia se habere explorata Remi dicebant, propterea quod, propinquitatibus affinitatibusque coniuncti, quantam quisque multitudinem in communi Belgarum concilio ad id bellum pollicitus 5 sit, cognoverint. Plurimum inter eos Bellovacos et virtute et auctoritate et hominum numero valere: hos posse conficere armata milia centum; pollicitos ex eo numero electa sexaginta totiusque belli im-6 perium sibi postulare. Suessiones suos esse finitimos; 7 latissimos feracissimosque agros possidere. Apud eos fuisse regem nostra etiam memoria Divitiacum, totius Galliae potentissimum, qui cum magnae partis harum regionum, tum etiam Britanniae imperium obtinuerit; nunc esse regem Galbam: ad hunc propter iustitiam prudentiamque suam totius belli summam omnium voluntate deferri; oppida habere numero XII, polliceri 8 milia armata quinquaginta; totidem Nervios, qui maxime feri inter ipsos habeantur longissimeque 9 absint; quindecim milia Atrebates, Ambianos decem milia, Morinos XXV milia, Menapios VII milia, Caletos X milia, Veliocasses et Viromanduos totidem, Adua-10 tucos decem et novem milia, Condrusos, Eburones, Caeroesos, Paemanos, qui uno nomine Germani appellantur, arbitrari ad XL milia.

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The Aedui are instructed to invade the Bellovaci; C. crosses the Axona.

Caesar Remos cohortatus liberaliterque oratione 5
prosecutus, omnem senatum ad se convenire principumque liberos obsides ad se adduci iussit. Quae omnia ab his
diligenter ad diem facta sunt. Ipse Divitiacum Ae- 2
duum magnopere cohortatus docet, quanto opere rei publicae communisque salutis intersit manus hostium distineri, ne cum tanta multitudine uno tempore con-
fligendum sit. Id fieri posse, si suas copias Aedui 3
in fines Bellovacorum introduxerint et eorum agros populari coeperint. His mandatis eum ab se dimittit.
Postquam omnes Belgarum copias in unum locum 4
coactas ad se venire vidit, neque iam longe abesse, ab iis, quos miserat, exploratoribus et ab Remis cognovit, flumen Axonam, quod est in extremis Remorum finibus, exercitum traducere maturavit atque ibi castra
posuit. Quae res et latus unum castrorum ripis 5
fluminis muniebat et, post eum quae essent, tuta ab hostibus reddebat et, commeatus ab Remis reliquisque civitatibus ut sine periculo ad eum portari possent,
efficiebat. In eo flumine pons erat. Ibi praesidium 6
ponit et in altera parte fluminis Quintum Titurium Sabinum legatum cum sex cohortibus relinquit; castra in altitudinem pedum XII vallo fossaque duodeviginti pedum munire iubet.

The Belgae attack Bibrax, a town of the Remi. Their method of assault.

Ab his castris oppidum Remorum nomine Bibrax 6
aberat milia passuum octo. Id ex itinere magno impetu Belgae oppugnare coeperunt. Aegre eo die sustentatum est.
Gallorum eadem atque Belgarum oppugnatio est haec. 2
Ubi circumiecta multitudine hominum totis moenibus

A.U.C. 697 undique in murum lapides iaci coepti sunt murusque defensoribus nudatus est, testudine facta [portas]
3 succedunt murumque subruunt. Quod tum facile fiebat. Nam cum tanta multitudo lapides ac tela conicerent, in muro consistendi potestas erat nulli.
4 Cum finem oppugnandi nox fecisset, Iccius Remus, summa nobilitate et gratia inter suos, qui tum oppido praefuerat, unus ex iis, qui legati de pace ad Caesarem venerant, nuntium ad eum mittit; nisi subsidium sibi submittatur, sese diutius sustinere non posse.

C. comes to the rescue.

7 Eo de media nocte Caesar isdem ducibus usus, qui nuntii ab Iccio venerant, Numidas et Cretas sagittarios et funditores Baleares
2 subsidio oppidanis mittit; quorum adventu et Remis cum spe defensionis studium propugnandi accessit, et hostibus eadem de causa spes potiundi oppidi discessit.
3 Itaque paulisper apud oppidum morati agrosque Remorum depopulati, omnibus vicis aedificiisque, quos adire potuerant, incensis, ad castra Caesaris omnibus copiis contenderunt et ab milibus passuum minus
4 duobus castra posuerunt; quae castra, ut fumo atque ignibus significabatur, amplius milibus passuum octo in latitudinem patebant.

Situation of his camp.

8 Caesar primo et propter multitudinem hostium et propter eximiam opinionem virtutis proe-
2 lio supersedere statuit; cotidie tamen equestribus proeliis, quid hostis virtute posset et quid
3 nostri auderent, periclitabatur. Ubi nostros non esse inferiores intellexit, loco pro castris ad aciem instruendam natura opportuno atque idoneo, quod is collis, ubi castra posita erant, paululum ex planicie editus

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tantum adversus in latitudinem patebat, quantum loci
acies instructa occupare poterat, atque ex utraque
parte lateris deiectus habebat et in frontem leniter
fastigatus paulatim ad planiciem redibat, ab utroque
latere eius collis transversam fossam obduxit circiter
passuum CD et ad extremas fossas castella constituit 4
ibique tormenta collocavit, ne, cum aciem instruxisset,
hostes, quod tantum multitudine poterant, ab lateri-
bus pugnantes suos circumvenire possent. Hoc facto 5
duabus legionibus, quas proxime conscripserat, in
castris relictis, ut, si quo opus esset, subsidio duci
possent, reliquas sex legiones pro castris in acie con-
stituit. Hostes item suas copias ex castris eductas
instruxerant.

Détour made by the Belgae.

Palus erat non magna inter nostrum atque hostium 9
exercitum. Hanc si nostri transirent,
hostes exspectabant; nostri autem, si ab
illis initium transeundi fieret, ut impeditos aggrede-
rentur, parati in armis erant. Interim proelio equestri 2
inter duas acies contendebatur. Ubi neutri transe-
undi initium faciunt, secundiore equitum proelio
nostris, Caesar suos in castra reduxit. Hostes pro- 3
tinus ex eo loco ad flumen Axonam contenderunt,
quod esse post nostra castra demonstratum est. Ibi 4
vadis repertis partem suarum copiarum traducere
conati sunt, eo consilio, ut, si possent, castellum, cui
praeerat Quintus Titurius legatus, expugnarent pon-
temque interscinderent; si minus potuissent, agros 5
Remorum popularentur, qui magno nobis usui ad
bellum gerendum erant, commeatuque nostros pro-
hiberent.

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Attacked by Roman forces in the fords.

10 Caesar certior factus ab Titurio, omnem equitatum
et levis armaturae Numidas, funditores
sagittariosque pontem traducit atque ad
2 eos contendit. Acriter in eo loco pugnatum est.
Hostes impeditos nostri in flumine aggressi magnum
3 eorum numerum occiderunt; per eorum corpora
reliquos audacissime transire conantes multitudine
telorum reppulerunt; primos, qui transierant, equi-
4 tatu circumventos interfecerunt. Hostes, ubi et de
expugnando oppido et de flumine transeundo spem
se fefellisse intellexerunt neque nostros in locum
iniquiorem progredi pugnandi causa viderunt, atque
ipsos res frumentaria deficere coepit, consilio con-
vocato constituerunt, optimum esse, do-
mum suam quemque reverti, et, quorum
in fines primum Romani exercitum introduxissent, ad
eos defendendos undique convenirent, ut potius in
suis quam in alienis finibus decertarent et domesticis
5 copiis rei frumentariae uterentur. Ad eam sententiam
cum reliquis causis haec quoque ratio eos deduxit,
quod Divitiacum atque Aeduos finibus Bellovacorum
appropinquare cognoverant. His persuaderi, ut diu-
tius morarentur neque suis auxilium ferrent, non
poterat.

They resolve to disband.

Slaughter during their retreat.

11 Ea re constituta, secunda vigilia magno cum strepitu
ac tumultu castris egressi nullo certo
ordine neque imperio, cum sibi quisque
primum itineris locum peteret et domum pervenire
properaret, fecerunt, ut consimilis fugae profectio
2 videretur. Hac re statim Caesar per speculatores
cognita insidias veritus, quod, qua de causa discede-

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rent, nondum perspexerat, exercitum equitatumque
castris continuit. Prima luce confirmata re ab ex- 3
ploratoribus, omnem equitatum, qui novissimum
agmen moraretur, praemisit. His Quintum Pedium
et Lucium Aurunculeium Cottam legatos praefecit;
Titum Labienum legatum cum legionibus tribus
subsequi iussit. Hi novissimos adorti et multa milia 4
passuum prosecuti magnam multitudinem eorum fugi-
entium conciderunt, cum ab extremo agmine, ad quos
ventum erat, consisterent fortiterque impetum nostro-
rum militum sustinerent, priores, quod abesse a 5
periculo viderentur neque ulla necessitate neque
imperio continerentur, exaudito clamore perturbatis
ordinibus omnes in fuga sibi praesidium ponerent.
Ita sine ullo periculo tantam eorum multitudinem 6
nostri interfecerunt, quantum fuit diei spatium, sub
occasumque solis destiterunt seque in castra, ut erat
imperatum, receperunt.

Noviodunum, a town of the Suessiones, attacked.

Postridie eius diei Caesar, priusquam se hostes ex **12**
terrore ac fuga reciperent, in fines Sues-
sionum, qui proximi Remis erant, exer-
citum duxit et magno itinere [confecto] ad oppidum
Noviodunum contendit. Id ex itinere oppugnare 2
conatus, quod vacuum ab defensoribus esse audiebat,
propter latitudinem fossae murique altitudinem paucis
defendentibus expugnare non potuit. Castris munitis 3
vineas agere, quaeque ad oppugnandum usui erant,
comparare coepit. Interim omnis ex fuga Suessionum 4
multitudo in oppidum proxima nocte convenit. Cele- 5
riter vineis ad oppidum actis, aggere iacto turribusque
constitutis, magnitudine operum, quae neque viderant

A.U.C. 697 ante Galli neque audierant, et celeritate Romanorum permoti legatos ad Caesarem de deditione mittunt et, petentibus Remis, ut conservarentur, impetrant.

It surrenders: as also Bratuspantium.

13 Caesar obsidibus acceptis primis civitatis atque ipsius Galbae regis duobus filiis, armisque omnibus ex oppido traditis, in deditionem Suessiones accepit exercitumque in Bellovacos ducit.
2 Qui cum se suaque omnia in oppidum Bratuspantium contulissent, atque ab eo oppido Caesar cum exercitu circiter milia passuum quinque abesset, omnes maiores natu ex oppido egressi manus ad Caesarem tendere et voce significare coeperunt, sese in eius fidem ac potestatem venire neque contra populum Romanum armis
3 contendere. Item, cum ad oppidum accessisset castraque ibi poneret, pueri mulieresque ex muro passis manibus suo more pacem ab Romanis petierunt.

Divitiacus pleads for the Bellovaci.

14 Pro his Divitiacus—nam post discessum Belgarum dimissis Aeduorum copiis ad eum rever-
2 terat—facit verba: Bellovacos omni tempore in fide atque amicitia civitatis Aeduae fuisse;
3 impulsos ab suis principibus, qui dicerent, Aeduos ab Caesare in servitutem redactos omnes indignitates contumeliasque perferre, et ab Aeduis defecisse et
4 populo Romano bellum intulisse. Qui eius consilii principes fuissent, quod intellegerent, quantam calamitatem civitati intulissent, in Britanniam profugisse.
5 Petere non solum Bellovacos, sed etiam pro his Aeduos, ut sua clementia ac mansuetudine in eos
6 utatur. Quod si fecerit, Aeduorum auctoritatem apud omnes Belgas amplificaturum; quorum auxiliis atque opibus, si qua bella inciderint, sustentare consuerint.

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Caesar honoris Divitiaci atque Aeduorum causa sese 15
eos in fidem recepturum et conservaturum dixit; quod erat civitas magna inter Belgas auctoritate atque hominum multitudine praestabat, sexcentos obsides poposcit. His traditis omnibusque armis ex 2
oppido collatis, ab eo loco in fines Ambianorum pervenit, qui se suaque omnia sine mora dediderunt.

The Nervii: their character.

Eorum fines Nervii attingebant; quorum 3
de natura moribusque Caesar cum quaereret, sic reperiebat: Nullum aditum esse ad eos 4
mercatoribus: nihil pati vini reliquarumque rerum inferri, quod iis rebus relanguescere animos [eorum] et remitti virtutem existimarent; esse homines feros 5
magnaeque virtutis, increpitare atque incusare reliquos Belgas, qui se populo Romano dedidissent patriamque virtutem proiecissent; confirmare, sese neque legatos missuros neque ullam condicionem pacis accepturos.

Their position on the Sabis.

Cum per eorum fines triduum iter fecisset, in- 16
veniebat ex captivis, Sabim flumen ab castris suis non amplius milia passuum x abesse: trans id flumen omnes Nervios consedisse 2
adventumque ibi Romanorum exspectare una cum Atrebatis et Viromanduis, finitimis suis—nam his utrisque persuaserant, uti eandem belli fortunam experirentur—; exspectari etiam ab his Aduatucorum copias 3
atque esse in itinere: mulieres, quique per aetatem ad 4
pugnam inutiles viderentur, in eum locum coniecisse, quo propter paludes exercitui aditus non esset.

C.'s plan of march betrayed.

His rebus cognitis exploratores centurionesque 17
praemittit, qui locum idoneum castris deligant. Cum ex dediticiis Belgis 2

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reliquisque Gallis complures Caesarem secuti una iter
facerent, quidam ex his, ut postea ex captivis cogni-
tum est, eorum dierum consuetudine itineris nostri
exercitus perspecta, nocte ad Nervios pervenerunt
atque his demonstrarunt, inter singulas legiones im-
pedimentorum magnum numerum intercedere, neque
esse quicquam negotii, cum prima legio in castra
venisset reliquaeque legiones magnum spatium abes-
3 sent, hanc sub sarcinis adoriri; qua pulsa impedimen-
tisque direptis futurum, ut reliquae contra consistere
4 non auderent. Adiuvabat etiam eorum consilium,
qui rem deferebant, quod Nervii antiquitus, cum
equitatu nihil possent—neque enim ad hoc tempus
ei rei student, sed, quicquid possunt, pedestribus
valent copiis—, quo facilius finitimorum equitatum,
si praedandi causa ad eos venissent, im-
pedirent, teneris arboribus incisis atque
inflexis crebrisque in latitudinem ramis enatis et rubis
sentibusque interiectis effecerant, ut instar muri hae
sepes munimenta praeberent, quo non modo non
5 intrari, sed ne perspici quidem posset. His rebus
cum iter agminis nostri impediretur, non omittendum
sibi consilium Nervii existimaverunt.

Curious manœuvre of the Nervii.

18 Loci natura erat haec, quem locum nostri castris
delegerant. Collis ab summo aequaliter
declivis ad flumen Sabim, quod supra
2 nominavimus, vergebat. Ab eo flumine pari acclivi-
tate collis nascebatur adversus huic et contrarius,
passus circiter ducentos infimus apertus, ab superiore
parte silvestris, ut non facile introrsus perspici posset.
3 Intra eas silvas hostes in occulto sese continebant; in

Position of the Roman camp.

aperto loco secundum flumen paucae stationes equitum B.C. 57
videbantur. Fluminis erat altitudo circiter pedum
trium.

Caesar equitatu praemisso subsequebatur omnibus 19
copiis; sed ratio ordoque agminis aliter
se habebat, ac Belgae ad Nervios detule-
rant. Nam quod ad hostis appropinquabat, consuetu- 2
dine sua Caesar sex legiones expeditas ducebat; post 3
eas totius exercitus impedimenta collocarat; inde
duae legiones, quae proxume conscriptae erant, totum
agmen claudebant praesidioque impedimentis erant.
Equites nostri cum funditoribus sagittariisque flumen 4
transgressi cum hostium equitatu proelium commise-
runt. Cum se illi identidem in silvas ad suos recipe- 5
rent ac rursus ex silva in nostros impetum facerent
neque nostri longius, quam quem ad finem porrecta
loca aperta pertinebant, cedentes insequi auderent,
interim legiones sex, quae primae venerant, opere
dimenso castra munire coeperunt. Ubi prima im- 6
pedimenta nostri exercitus ab iis, qui in silvis abditi
latebant, visa sunt, quod tempus inter eos committendi
proelii convenerat, ut intra silvas aciem ordinesque
constituerant atque ipsi sese confirmaverant, subito
omnibus copiis provolaverunt impetumque in nostros
equites fecerunt. His facile pulsis ac proturbatis 7
incredibili celeritate ad flumen decurrerunt, ut
paene uno tempore et ad silvas et in flumine
et iam in manibus nostris hostes viderentur.
Eadem autem celeritate adverso colle ad nostra 8
castra atque eos, qui in opere occupati erant, con-
tenderunt.

Sudden and rapid assault by the Nervii.

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20 Caesari omnia uno tempore erant agenda: vexillum
Confusion in camp: proponendum, quod erat insigne, cum ad
arma concurri oporteret, signum tuba
dandum, ab opere revocandi milites, qui paulo longius
aggeris petendi causa processerant, arcessendi, acies
2 instruenda, milites cohortandi, signum dandum. Qua-
rum rerum magnam partem temporis brevitas et
3 successus hostium impediebat. His difficultatibus
modified by experience of the troops. duae res erant subsidio, scientia atque
usus militum, quod superioribus proeliis
exercitati, quid fieri oporteret, non minus commode
ipsi sibi praescribere quam ab aliis doceri poterant, et
quod ab opere singulisque legionibus singulos legatos
4 Caesar discedere nisi munitis castris vetuerat. Hi
propter propinquitatem et celeritatem hostium nihil
iam Caesaris imperium exspectabant, sed per se, quae
videbantur, administrabant.

21 Caesar necessariis rebus imperatis ad cohortandos
Engagement with the Nervii. milites, quam in partem fors obtulit,
decucurrit et ad legionem decimam de-
2 venit. Milites non longiore oratione cohortatus, quam
uti suae pristinae virtutis memoriam retinerent neu
perturbarentur animo, hostiumque impetum fortiter
3 sustinerent, quod non longius hostes aberant, quam
quo telum adigi posset, proelii committendi signum
4 dedit. Atque in alteram partem item cohortandi
5 causa profectus pugnantibus occurrit. Temporis tanta
fuit exiguitas hostiumque tam paratus ad dimicandum
animus, ut non modo ad insignia accommodanda, sed
etiam ad galeas induendas scutisque tegimenta detru-
6 denda tempus defuerit. Quam quisque ab opere in

partem casu devenit quaeque prima signa conspexit, ad haec constitit, ne in quaerendis suis pugnandi tempus dimitteret. B.C. 57

Instructo exercitu, magis ut loci natura deiectusque collis et necessitas temporis, quam ut rei militaris ratio atque ordo postulabat, cum diversis legionibus aliae alia in parte hostibus resisterent, sepibusque densissimis, ut ante demonstravimus, interiectis prospectus impediretur, neque certa subsidia collocari neque, quid in quaque parte opus esset, provideri neque ab uno omnia imperia administrari poterant. 22
Itaque in tanta rerum iniquitate fortunae quoque eventus varii sequebantur. 2

Conduct of the 9th and 10th legions:

Legionis nonae et decimae milites, ut in sinistra parte acie constiterant, pilis emissis cursu ac lassitudine exanimatos vulneribusque confectos Atrebates—nam his ea pars obvenerat—celeriter ex loco superiore in flumen compulerunt et transire conantes insecuti gladiis magnam partem eorum impeditam interfecerunt. 23
Ipsi transire flumen non dubitaverunt et in locum iniquum progressi rursus resistentes hostes redintegrato proelio in fugam coniecerunt. 2
Item alia in parte diversae duae legiones, undecima et octava, profligatis Viromanduis, quibuscum erant congressi, ex loco superiore in ipsis fluminis ripis proeliabantur. 3

of the 11th and 8th.

At totis fere a fronte et ab sinistra parte nudatis castris, cum in dextro cornu legio duodecima et non magno ab ea intervallo septima constitisset, omnes Nervii confertissimo agmine duce Boduognato, qui summam imperii tenebat, ad eum locum contende- 4

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5 runt; quorum pars aperto latere legiones cir-
cumvenire, pars summum castrorum locum petere
coepit.

24 Eodem tempore equites nostri levisque armaturae

The cavalry who had been routed return to camp.

pedites, qui cum iis una fuerant, quos
primo hostium impetu pulsos dixeram,
cum se in castra reciperent, adversis hostibus occur-
2 rebant ac rursus aliam in partem fugam petebant, et
calones, qui ab decumana porta ac summo iugo collis
nostros victores flumen transisse conspexerant, prae-
dandi causa egressi, cum respexissent et hostes in
nostris castris versari vidissent, praecipites fugae sese
3 mandabant. Simul eorum, qui cum impedimentis
veniebant, clamor fremitusque oriebatur, aliique aliam
4 in partem perterriti ferebantur. Quibus omnibus rebus
permoti equites Treveri, quorum inter Gallos virtutis
opinio est singularis, qui auxilii causa ab civitate ad
Caesarem missi venerant, cum multitudine hostium
castra compleri nostra, legiones premi et paene cir-
cumventas teneri, calones, equites, funditores, Numidas
diversos dissipatosque in omnes partes fugere vidis-
sent, desperatis nostris rebus domum contenderunt;
5 Romanos pulsos superatosque, castris impedimentisque
eorum hostes potitos civitati renuntiaverunt.

25 Caesar ab decimae legionis cohortatione ad dextrum cornu profectus, ubi suos urgeri signisque in unum locum collatis duodecimae legionis confertos milites sibi ipsos ad pugnam esse impedimento vidit, quartae cohortis omnibus centurionibus occisis signiferoque interfecto, signo amisso, reliquarum cohortium omnibus fere centurionibus aut vulneratis aut occisis, in

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his primipilo P. Sextio Baculo, fortissimo viro, multis gravibusque vulneribus confecto, ut iam se sustinere non posset, reliquos esse tardiores et nonnullos ab novissimis deserto loco proelio excedere ac tela vitare, hostis neque a fronte ex inferiore loco subeuntes intermittere et ab utroque latere instare et rem esse in angusto vidit, neque

Baculus badly hurt.

ullum esse subsidium, quod summitti posset: scuto 2
ab novissimis [uni] militi detracto, quod ipse eo sine scuto venerat, in primam aciem processit centurionibusque nominatim appellatis reliquos cohortatus milites signa inferre et manipulos laxare iussit, quo
facilius gladiis uti possent. Cuius adventu spe illata 3
militibus ac redintegrato animo, cum pro se quisque in conspectu imperatoris etiam in extremis suis rebus operam navare cuperet, paulum hostium impetus tardatus est.

Caesar cum septimam legionem, quae iuxta consti- 26
terat, item urgeri ab hoste vidisset, tribunos militum monuit, ut paulatim sese legiones coniungerent et conversa signa in hostes

Bold resistance of 7th and 12th legions.

inferrent. Quo facto cum alius alii subsidium ferret, 2
neque timerent, ne aversi ab hoste circumvenirentur,
audacius resistere ac fortius pugnare coeperunt. In- 3
terim milites legionum duarum, quae in novissimo agmine praesidio impedimentis fuerant, proelio nuntiato cursu incitato in summo colle ab hostibus con-
spiciebantur, et Titus Labienus castris hostium potitus 4
et ex loco superiore, quae res in nostris castris gererentur, conspicatus decimam

The 10th legion to the rescue.

legionem subsidio nostris misit. Qui cum ex equitum 5

A.U.C. 697 et calonum fuga, quo in loco res esset, quantoque in periculo et castra et legiones et imperator versaretur, cognovissent, nihil ad celeritatem sibi reliqui fecerunt.

27 Horum adventu tanta rerum commutatio est facta, ut nostri, etiam qui vulneribus confecti procubuissent, scutis innixi proelium redintegrarent; tum calones perterritos hostes conspicati etiam inermes armatis
2 occurrerunt, equites vero, ut turpitudinem fugae virtute delerent, omnibus in locis pugnarunt, quo se
3 legionariis militibus praeferrent. At hostes etiam in extrema spe salutis tantam virtutem praestiterunt, ut, cum primi eorum cecidissent, proximi iacentibus insisterent atque ex eorum corporibus pugnarent;
4 *Great valour of the Nervii.* his deiectis et coacervatis cadaveribus, qui superessent, ut ex tumulo tela in
5 nostros conicerent et pila intercepta remitterent: ut non nequiquam tantae virtutis homines iudicari deberet ausos esse transire latissimum flumen, ascendere altissimas ripas, subire iniquissimum locum, quae facilia ex difficillimis animi magnitudo redegerat.

28 Hoc proelio facto et prope ad internecionem gente *Their complete destruction.* ac nomine Nerviorum redacto, maiores natu, quos una cum pueris mulieribusque in aestuaria ac paludes coniectos dixeramus, hac pugna
2 nuntiata, cum victoribus nihil impeditum, victis nihil tutum arbitrarentur, omnium, qui supererant, consensu legatos ad Caesarem miserunt seque ei dediderunt et in commemoranda civitatis calamitate ex sexcentis ad tres senatores, ex hominum milibus LX vix ad quingentos, qui arma ferre possent, sese redactos esse dixerunt.
3 Quos Caesar, ut in miseros ac

supplices usus misericordia videretur, diligentissime B.C. 57
conservavit suisque finibus atque oppidis uti iussit et
finitimis imperavit, ut ab iniuria et maleficio se suos-
que prohiberent.

Aduatuci, de quibus supra scripsimus, cum omnibus 29
copiis auxilio Nerviis venirent, hac pugna *The Aduatuci.*
nuntiata ex itinere domum reverterunt; cunctis op- 2
pidis castellisque desertis sua omnia in unum oppidum
egregie natura munitum contulerunt. Quod cum ex 3
omnibus in circuitu partibus altissimas rupes despec-
tusque haberet, una ex parte leniter acclivis aditus in
latitudinem non amplius ducentorum pedum relinque-
batur; quem locum duplici altissimo muro munierant:
tum magni ponderis saxa et praeacutas trabes in muro
collocabant. Ipsi erant ex Cimbris Teutonisque pro- 4
gnati, qui, cum iter in provinciam nostram atque
Italiam facerent, iis impedimentis, quae secum agere
ac portare non poterant, citra flumen Rhenum depo-
sitis custodiam ex suis ac praesidium sex milia homi-
num una reliquerunt. Hi post eorum obitum multos 5
annos a finitimis exagitati, cum alias bellum inferrent,
alias illatum defenderent, consensu eorum omnium
pace facta hunc sibi domicilio locum delegerunt.

Ac primo adventu exercitus nostri crebras ex op- 30
pido excursiones faciebant parvulisque *They strengthen*
proeliis cum nostris contendebant; postea *their position;* 2
vallo passuum in circuitu XV milium crebrisque cas-
tellis circummuniti oppido sese continebant. Ubi 3
vineis actis aggere exstructo turrim procul constitui
viderunt, primum irridere ex muro atque increpitare
vocibus, quod tanta machinatio ab tanto spatio in-

A.U.C. 697 4 strueretur: quibusnam manibus aut quibus viribus *deride the Romans;* praesertim homines tantulae staturae—nam plerumque omnibus Gallis prae magnitudine corporum suorum brevitas nostra contemptui est—tanti oneris turrim moturos sese confiderent?

31 Ubi vero moveri et appropinquare moenibus viderunt, *treat of peace.* nova atque inusitata specie commoti legatos ad Caesarem de pace miserunt, qui ad hunc
2 modum locuti: non existimare, Romanos sine ope divina bellum gerere, qui tantae altitudinis machina-
3 tiones tanta celeritate promovere possent, se suaque
4 omnia eorum potestati permittere dixerunt. Unum petere ac deprecari: si forte pro sua clementia ac mansuetudine, quam ipsi ab aliis audirent, statuisset Aduatucos esse conservandos, ne se armis de-
5 spoliaret. Sibi omnes fere finitimos esse inimicos ac suae virtuti invidere; a quibus se defendere traditis
6 armis non possent. Sibi praestare, si in eum casum deducerentur, quamvis fortunam a populo Romano pati, quam ab his per cruciatum interfici, inter quos dominari consuessent.

32 Ad haec Caesar respondit: Se magis consuetudine *C.'s answer.* sua quam merito eorum civitatem conservaturum, si prius, quam murum aries attigisset, se
2 dedidissent; sed deditionis nullam esse condicionem nisi armis traditis. Se id, quod in Nerviis fecisset, facturum finitimisque imperaturum, ne quam dediticiis
3 populi Romani iniuriam inferrent. Re nuntiata ad
4 suos, quae imperarentur, facere dixerunt. Armorum magna multitudine de muro in fossam, quae erat ante oppidum, iacta, sic ut prope summam muri aggerisque

B.C. 57

altitudinem acervi armorum adaequarent, et tamen
circiter parte tertia, ut postea perspectum est, celata
atque in oppido retenta, portis patefactis eo die pace
sunt usi.

Their treachery.

Sub vesperum Caesar portas claudi militesque ex 33
oppido exire iussit, ne quam noctu oppi-
dani ab militibus iniuriam acciperent. Illi, ante inito, 2
ut intellectum est, consilio, quod deditione facta nos-
tros praesidia deducturos aut denique indiligentius
servaturos crediderant, partim sumptis, quae retinu-
erant et celaverant, armis, partim scutis ex cortice
factis aut viminibus intextis, quae subito, ut temporis
exiguitas postulabat, pellibus induxerant, tertia vigilia,
qua minime arduus ad nostras munitiones ascensus
videbatur, omnibus copiis repentino ex oppido erup-
tionem fecerunt. Celeriter, ut ante Caesar imperarat, 3
ignibus significatione facta, ex proximis castellis eo
concursum est, pugnatumque ab hostibus ita acriter 4
est, ut a viris fortibus in extrema spe salutis iniquo
loco contra eos, qui ex vallo turribusque tela iacerent,
pugnari debuit, cum in una virtute omnis
spes salutis consisteret. Occisis ad homi- 5
num milibus quattuor, reliqui in oppidum reiecti sunt.
Postridie eius diei refractis portis, cum iam defenderet 6
nemo, atque intromissis militibus nostris sectionem
eius oppidi universam Caesar vendidit. Ab iis, qui 7
emerant, capitum numerus ad eum relatus est milium
quinquaginta trium.

The gates forced: sale of their property.

The Aremorican tribes reduced.

Eodem tempore a Publio Crasso, quem cum legione 34
una miserat ad Venetos, Venellos, Osis-
mos, Curiosolitas, Esubios, Aulercos, Re-

A.U.C. 697 dones, quae sunt maritumae civitates Oceanumque attingunt, certior factus est, omnes eas civitates in dicionem potestatemque populi Romani esse redactas.

35 His rebus gestis omni Gallia pacata, tanta huius *C. starts for Italy.* belli ad barbaros opinio perlata est, uti ab iis nationibus, quae trans Rhenum incolerent, mitterentur legati ad Caesarem, qui se obsides daturas,
2 imperata facturas pollicerentur. Quas legationes Caesar, quod in Italiam Illyricumque properabat, inita
3 proxima aestate ad se reverti iussit. Ipse, in Carnutes, Andes, Turonos, quaeque civitates propinquae his locis erant, ubi bellum gesserat, legionibus in hibernacula deductis, in Italiam profectus est. Ob easque res ex litteris Caesaris in dies quindecim supplicatio decreta est, quod ante id tempus accidit nulli.

C. IULI CAESARIS

DE BELLO GALLICO

COMMENTARIUS TERTIUS.

B.C. 57

Galba sent to open up the passes of the Alps between Italy and Gaul.

CUM in Italiam proficisceretur Caesar, Servium Gal- 1
bam cum legione XII. et parte equitatus in Nantuatis, Veragros Sedunosque misit, qui ab finibus Allobrogum et lacu Lemanno et flumine Rhodano ad summas Alpes pertinent. Causa mittendi fuit, quod iter per Alpes, 2
quo magno cum periculo magnisque cum portoriis mercatores ire consuerant, patefieri volebat. Huic 3
permisit, si opus esse arbitraretur, uti in his locis legionem hiemandi causa collocaret. Galba, secundis 4
aliquot proeliis factis castellisque compluribus eorum expugnatis, missis ad eum undique legatis obsidibusque datis et pace facta, constituit cohortes duas in Nantuatibus collocare et ipse cum reliquis eius legionis cohortibus in vico Veragrorum, qui appellatur Octodurus, hiemare; qui vicus positus in valle, non magna ad- 5

Winters in Octodurus (Martigny); its physical features.

iecta planicie, altissimis montibus undique continetur.
Cum hic in duas partes flumine divideretur, alteram 6

A.U.C. 697 partem eius vici Gallis [ad hiemandum] concessit, alteram vacuam ab his relictam cohortibus attribuit. Eum locum vallo fossaque munivit.

2 Cum dies hibernorum complures transissent, frumentumque eo comportari iussisset, subito per exploratores certior factus est, ex ea parte vici, quam Gallis concesserat, omnes noctu discessisse, montesque, qui impenderent, a maxima multitudine Sedunorum et Veragrorum teneri.

The natives attack the Roman encampment,

2 Id aliquot de causis acciderat, ut subito Galli belli renovandi legionisque opprimendae consilium caperent:
3 primum, quod legionem, neque eam plenissimam detractis cohortibus duabus et compluribus singillatim, qui commeatus petendi causa missi erant,
4 propter paucitatem despiciebant; tum etiam, quod propter iniquitatem loci, cum ipsi ex montibus in vallem decurrerent et tela conicerent, ne primum quidem posse impetum suum sustineri existimabant.
5 Accedebat, quod suos ab se liberos abstractos obsidum nomine dolebant, et Romanos non solum itinerum causa, sed etiam perpetuae possessionis culmina Alpium occupare conari et ea loca finitimae provinciae adiungere sibi persuasum habebant.

3 His nuntiis acceptis Galba, cum neque opus hibernorum munitionesque plene essent perfectae neque de frumento reliquoque commeatu satis esset provisum, quod deditione facta obsidibusque acceptis nihil de bello timendum existimaverat, consilio celeriter convocato sententias ex-
2 quirere coepit. Quo in consilio, cum tantum repentini periculi praeter opinionem accidisset ac iam omnia

which is in serious peril,

fere superiora loca multitudine armatorum completa B.C. 57
conspicerentur, neque subsidio veniri neque commeatus supportari interclusis itineribus possent, prope 3
iam desperata salute nonnullae huiusmodi sententiae dicebantur, ut impedimentis relictis eruptione facta isdem itineribus, quibus eo pervenissent, ad salutem contenderent. Maiori tamen parti placuit, hoc reser- 4
vato ad extremum consilio interim rei eventum experiri et castra defendere.

and almost overwhelmed.

Brevi spatio interiecto, vix ut rebus, quas consti- 4
tuissent, collocandis atque administrandis tempus daretur, hostes ex omnibus partibus signo dato decurrere, lapides gaesaque in vallum conicere. Nostri primo integris viribus fortiter re- 2
pugnare neque ullum frustra telum ex loco superiore mittere, ut quaeque pars castrorum nudata defensoribus premi videbatur, eo occurrere et auxilium ferre, sed hoc superari, quod diuturnitate pugnae hostes 3
defessi proelio excedebant, alii integris viribus succedebant; quarum rerum a nostris propter paucitatem 4
fieri nihil poterat, ac non modo defesso ex pugna excedendi, sed ne saucio quidem eius loci, ubi constiterat, relinquendi ac sui recipiendi facultas dabatur.

As a last resort a sally is ordered,

Cum iam amplius horis sex continenter pugnaretur 5
ac non solum vires, sed etiam tela nostros deficerent, atque hostes acrius instarent languidioribusque nostris vallum scindere et fossas complere coepissent, resque esset iam ad extremum perducta casum, Publius Sextus Baculus, primi pili 2
centurio, quem Nervico proelio compluribus confectum

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vulneribus diximus, et item Gaius Volusenus, tribunus militum, vir et consilii magni et virtutis, ad Galbam accurrunt atque unam esse spem salutis docent, si eruptione facta extremum auxilium exper-
3 irentur. Itaque convocatis centurionibus celeriter milites certiores facit, paulisper intermitterent proelium ac tantummodo tela missa exciperent seque ex labore reficerent, post dato signo ex castris erumperent atque omnem spem salutis in virtute ponerent.

which proves successful. Galba retires and winters among the Allobroges.

6 Quod iussi sunt, faciunt ac subito omnibus portis eruptione facta neque cognoscendi, quid fieret, neque sui colligendi hostibus facul-
2 tatem relinquunt. Ita commutata fortuna eos, qui in spem potiundorum castrorum venerant, undique circumventos interficiunt et ex hominum milibus amplius xxx, quem numerum barbarorum ad castra venisse constabat, plus tertia parte interfecta reliquos perterritos in fugam coniciunt ac ne in locis
3 quidem superioribus consistere patiuntur. Sic omnibus hostium copiis fusis armisque exutis se in castra
4 munitionesque suas recipiunt. Quo proelio facto, quod saepius fortunam temptare Galba nolebat atque alio se in hiberna consilio venisse meminerat, aliis occurrisse rebus viderat, maxime frumenti commeatusque inopia permotus postero die omnibus eius vici aedificiis incensis in provinciam reverti contendit,
5 ac nullo hoste prohibente aut iter demorante incolumem legionem in Nantuatis, inde in Allobroges perduxit ibique hiemavit.

B.C. 56

CC. 7-16.—RISING OF THE VENETI.

His rebus gestis cum omnibus de causis Caesar 7
pacatam Galliam existimaret, superatis Belgis, expulsis Germanis, victis in Alpibus Sedunis, atque ita inita hieme in Illyricum profectus esset, quod eas quoque nationes adire et regiones cognoscere volebat, subitum bellum in Gallia coortum est. Eius belli haec fuit causa. P. Crassus adulescens 2
cum legione septima proximus mare Oceanum in Andibus hiemarat. Is, quod in his locis inopia fru- 3
menti erat, praefectos tribunosque militum complures in finitimas civitates frumenti causa dimisit; quo in 4
numero est Titus Terrasidius missus in Esubios, Marcus Trebius Gallus in Curiosolitas, Quintus Velanius cum Tito Silio in Venetos.

P. Crassus at Anjou.

Huius est civitatis longe amplissima auctoritas 8
omnis orae maritimae regionum earum, quod et naves habent Veneti plurimas, quibus in Britanniam navigare consuerunt, et scientia atque usu nauticarum rerum reliquos antecedunt et in magno impetu maris atque aperto, paucis portibus interiectis, quos tenent ipsi, omnes fere, qui eo mari uti consuerunt, habent vectigales. Ab his fit initium 2
retinendi Silii atque Velanii, quod per eos suos se obsides, quos Crasso dedissent, reciperaturos existimabant. Horum auctoritate 3
finitimi adducti, (ut sunt Gallorum subita et repentina consilia,) eadem de causa Trebium Terrasidiumque retinent, et celeriter missis legatis per suos principes inter se coniurant, nihil nisi communi consilio acturos

The wide influence of the Veneti:

they detain two Roman envoys.

A.U.C. 698

eundemque omnis fortunae exitum esse laturos, reli-
4 quasque civitates sollicitant, ut in ea libertate, quam a maioribus acceperant, permanere quam Romanorum
5 servitutem perferre mallent. Omni ora maritima celeriter ad suam sententiam perducta communem legationem ad Publium Crassum mittunt, si velit suos recipere, obsides sibi remittat.

C. prepares a fleet to act against the Veneti, who invite allies to join them.

9 Quibus de rebus Caesar ab Crasso certior factus, quod ipse aberat longius, naves interim longas aedificari in flumine Ligere, quod influit in Oceanum, remiges ex provincia institui, nautas gubernatoresque comparari iubet.
2 His rebus celeriter administratis, ipse, cum primum per anni tempus potuit, ad exercitum contendit.
3 Veneti reliquaeque item civitates cognito Caesaris adventu simul quod, quantum in se facinus admisissent, intellegebant, legatos, quod nomen ad omnes nationes sanctum inviolatumque semper fuisset, retentos ab se et in vincula coniectos, pro magnitudine periculi bellum parare et maxime ea, quae ad usum navium pertinent, providere instituunt, hoc maiore
4 spe, quod multum natura loci confidebant. Pedestria esse itinera concisa aestuariis, navigationem impeditam propter inscientiam locorum paucitatemque por-
5 tuum sciebant, neque nostros exercitus propter frumenti inopiam diutius apud se morari posse con-
6 fidebant; ac iam ut omnia contra opinionem acciderent, tamen se plurimum navibus posse, Romanos neque ullam facultatem habere navium neque eorum locorum, ubi bellum gesturi essent, vada, portus,
7 insulas novisse; ac longe aliam esse navigationem in

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concluso mari atque in vastissimo atque apertissimo
Oceano perspiciebant. His initis consiliis oppida 8
muniunt, frumenta ex agris in oppida comportant,
naves in Venetiam, ubi Caesarem primum bellum 9
gesturum constabat, quam plurimas possunt, cogunt.
Socios sibi ad id bellum Osismos, Lexovios, Namnetes, 10
Ambiliatos, Morinos, Diablintes, Menapios adsciscunt;
auxilia ex Britannia, quae contra eas regiones posita
est, arcessunt.

C. distributes his forces to prevent the rest of Gaul from joining the V.

10 Erant hae difficultates belli gerendi, quas supra
ostendimus, sed multa Caesarem tamen
ad id bellum incitabant: iniuriae reten- 2
torum equitum Romanorum, rebellio
facta post deditionem, defectio datis obsidibus, tot
civitatum coniuratio, imprimis ne, hac parte neglecta,
reliquae nationes sibi idem licere arbitrarentur.
Itaque cum intellegeret, omnes fere Gallos novis 3
rebus studere et ad bellum mobiliter celeriterque
excitari, omnes autem homines natura libertati studere
et condicionem servitutis odisse, priusquam
plures civitates conspirarent, partiendum sibi ac latius
distribuendum exercitum putavit.

Destinations of the various lieutenants-general.

11 Itaque Titum Labienum legatum in Treveros, qui
proximi flumini Rheno sunt, cum equi-
tatu mittit. Huic mandat, Remos reli- 2
quosque Belgas adeat atque in officio contineat,
Germanosque, qui auxilio ab Belgis arcessiti dicebantur,
si per vim navibus flumen transire conentur,
prohibeat. Publium Crassum cum cohortibus legion- 3
ariis XII et magno numero equitatus in Aquitaniam
proficisci iubet, ne ex his nationibus auxilia in Galliam

A.U.C. 698

4 mittantur ac tantae nationes coniungantur. Quintum
Titurium Sabinum legatum cum legionibus tribus in
Venellos, Curiosolites Lexoviosque mittit, qui eam
5 manum distinendam curet. Decimum Brutum adu-
lescentem classi Gallicisque navibus, quas ex Pic-
tonibus et Santonis reliquisque pacatis regionibus
convenire iusserat, praeficit et, cum primum posset,
in Venetos proficisci iubet. Ipse eo pedestribus
copiis contendit.

Strong position of the towns.

12 Erant eiusmodi fere situs oppidorum, ut posita in
extremis lingulis promunturiisque neque
pedibus aditum haberent, cum ex alto
se aestus incitavisset, quod bis accidit semper hora-
rum XXIV spatio, neque navibus, quod rursus minu-
2 ente aestu naves in vadis afflictarentur. Ita utraque
3 re oppidorum oppugnatio impediebatur; ac si quando,
magnitudine operis forte superati, extruso mari aggere
ac molibus atque his oppidi moenibus adaequatis suis
fortunis desperare coeperant, magno numero navium
4 appulso, cuius rei summam facultatem habebant, sua
deportabant omnia seque in proxima oppida reci-
5 piebant; ibi se rursus isdem opportunitatibus loci
defendebant. Haec eo facilius magnam partem ae-
statis faciebant, quod nostrae naves tempestatibus
detinebantur summaque erat vasto atque aperto mari,
magnis aestibus, raris ac prope nullis portibus diffi-
cultas navigandi.

Naval tactics of the V.

13 Namque ipsorum naves ad hunc modum factae
armataeque erant: carinae aliquanto
planiores quam nostrarum navium, quo
facilius vada ac decessum aestus excipere possent;

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prorae admodum erectae, atque item puppes ad 2
magnitudinem fluctuum tempestatumque accommo- 3
datae; naves totae factae ex robore ad quamvis vim 4
et contumeliam perferendam; transtra pedalibus in
altitudinem trabibus confixa clavis ferreis digiti pol-
licis crassitudine; ancorae pro funibus ferreis catenis 5
revinctae; pelles pro velis alutaeque tenuiter con- 6
fectae, hae sive propter lini inopiam atque eius usus
inscientiam, sive eo, quod est magis verisimile, quod
tantas tempestates Oceani tantosque impetus ven-
torum sustineri ac tanta onera navium regi velis non
satis commode posse arbitrabantur. Cum his navibus 7
nostrae classi eiusmodi congressus erat, ut una
celeritate et pulsu remorum praestaret, reliqua pro
loci natura, pro vi tempestatum illis essent aptiora
et accommodatiora. Neque enim his nostrae rostro 8
nocere poterant (tanta in iis erat firmitudo), neque
propter altitudinem facile telum adigebatur, et eadem
de causa minus commode copulis continebantur. Ac- 9
cedebat, ut, cum saevire ventus coepisset et se vento
dedissent, et tempestatem ferrent facilius et in vadis
consisterent tutius et ab aestu relictae nihil saxa et
cautes timerent; quarum rerum omnium nostris
navibus casus erat extimescendus.

The sea-fight won by the Romans owing to their peculiarly constructed boats.

Compluribus expugnatis oppidis Caesar, ubi in- **14**
tellexit, frustra tantum laborem sumi,
neque hostium fugam captis oppidis re-
primi neque iis noceri posse, statuit
exspectandam classem. Quae ubi convenit ac pri- 2
mum ab hostibus visa est, circiter CCXX naves eorum
paratissimae atque omni genere armorum ornatis-

A.U.C. 698
simae profectae ex portu nostris adversae constite-
3 runt; neque satis Bruto, qui classi praeerat, vel
tribunis militum centurionibusque, quibus singulae
naves erant attributae, constabat, quid agerent aut
4 quam rationem pugnae insisterent. Rostro enim
noceri non posse cognoverant; turribus autem exci-
tatis, tamen has altitudo puppium ex barbaris navibus
superabat, ut neque ex inferiore loco satis commode
tela adigi possent et missa ab Gallis gravius accide-
5 rent. Una erat magno usui res praeparata a nostris,
falces praeacutae insertae affixaeque longuriis, non
6 absimili forma muralium falcium. His cum funes,
qui antemnas ad malos destinabant, comprehensi ad-
ductique erant, navigio remis incitato praerumpe-
7 bantur. Quibus abscisis antemnae necessario con-
cidebant, ut, cum omnis Gallicis navibus spes in
velis armamentisque consisteret, his ereptis omnis
8 usus navium uno tempore eriperetur. Reliquum erat
certamen positum in virtute, qua nostri milites facile
superabant, atque eo magis, quod in conspectu
Caesaris atque omnis exercitus res gerebatur, ut nul-
9 lum paulo fortius factum latere posset: omnes enim
colles ac loca superiora, unde erat propinquus de-
spectus in mare, ab exercitu tenebantur.

15 Disiectis, ut diximus, antemnis, cum singulas binae
ac ternae naves circumsteterant, milites summa vi
2 transcendere in hostium naves contendebant. Quod
postquam barbari fieri animadverterunt, expugnatis
compluribus navibus, cum ei rei nullum reperiretur
auxilium, fuga salutem petere contenderunt. Ac iam
conversis in eam partem navibus, quo ventus ferebat,

B.C. 56

tanta subito malacia ac tranquillitas exstitit, ut se ex
loco commovere non possent. Quae quidem res ad 4
negotium conficiendum maxime fuit opportuna: nam 5
singulas nostri consectati expugnaverunt, ut perpaucae ex omni numero noctis interventu ad terram pervenerint, cum ab hora fere quarta usque ad solis occasum pugnaretur.

Surrender and severe punishment of the V. and their allies.

Quo proelio bellum Venetorum totiusque orae mari- 16
timae confectum est. Nam cum omnis 2
iuventus, omnes etiam gravioris aetatis, in quibus aliquid consilii aut dignitatis fuit, eo convenerant, tum, navium quod ubique fuerat,
in unum locum coëgerant; quibus amissis reliqui 3
neque quo se reciperent, neque quemadmodum oppida defenderent, habebant. Itaque se suaque omnia
Caesari dediderunt. In quos eo gravius Caesar vin- 4
dicandum statuit, quo diligentius in reliquum tempus a barbaris ius legatorum conservaretur. Itaque omni senatu necato reliquos sub corona vendidit.

17-19.—SABINUS AMONG THE VENELLI.

S. refuses a battle.

Dum haec in Venetis geruntur, Quintus Titurius 17
Sabinus cum iis copiis, quas a Caesare
acceperat, in fines Venellorum pervenit. His praeerat 2
Viridovix ac summam imperii tenebat earum omnium civitatum, quae defecerant, ex quibus exercitum mag-
nasque copias coëgerat; atque his paucis diebus 3
Aulerci Eburovices Lexoviique senatu suo interfecto, quod auctores belli esse nolebant, portas clauserunt
seque cum Viridovice coniunxerunt; magnaque prae- 4

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terea multitudo undique ex Gallia perditorum hominum latronumque convenerat, quos spes praedandi studiumque bellandi ab agricultura et cotidiano la-
5 bore revocabat. Sabinus idoneo omnibus rebus loco castris sese tenebat, cum Viridovix contra eum duum milium spatio consedisset cotidieque productis copiis pugnandi potestatem faceret, ut iam non solum hostibus in contemptionem Sabinus veniret, sed etiam nostrorum militum vocibus nonnihil carperetur; tan-
6 tamque opinionem timoris praebuit, ut iam ad vallum
7 castrorum hostes accedere auderent. Id ea de causa faciebat, quod cum tanta multitudine hostium, praesertim eo absente, qui summam imperii teneret, nisi aequo loco aut opportunitate aliqua data legato dimicandum non existimabat.

18 Hac confirmata opinione timoris idoneum quendam hominem et callidum delegit, Gallum, ex iis, quos auxilii causa secum habebat.

Induces the enemy to attack his camp.

2 Huic magnis praemiis pollicitationibusque persuadet, uti ad hostes transeat, et, quid fieri velit, edocet.
3 Qui ubi pro perfuga ad eos venit, timorem Romanorum proponit, quibus angustiis ipse Caesar a Venetis
4 prematur, docet, neque longius abesse, quin proxima nocte Sabinus clam ex castris exercitum educat et ad
5 Caesarem auxilii ferendi causa proficiscatur. Quod ubi auditum est, conclamant omnes, occasionem negotii bene gerendi amittendam non esse, ad castra
6 iri oportere. Multae res ad hoc consilium Gallos hortabantur: superiorum dierum Sabini cunctatio, perfugae confirmatio, inopia cibariorum, cui rei parum diligenter ab iis erat provisum, spes Venetici belli,

et quod fere libenter homines id, quod volunt, credunt. His rebus adducti non prius Virido- 7 vicem reliquosque duces ex concilio dimittunt, quam ab his sit concessum, arma uti capiant et ad castra contendant. Qua re concessa laeti, ut explorata victoria, sarmentis virgultisque collectis, quibus fossas Romanorum compleant, ad castra pergunt.

B.C. 56

They are utterly routed.

Locus erat castrorum editus et paulatim ab imo 19 acclivis circiter passus mille. Huc magno cursu contenderunt, ut quam minimum spatii ad se colligendos armandosque Romanis daretur, exanimatique pervenerunt. Sabinus suos hor- 2 tatus cupientibus signum dat. Impeditis hostibus 3 propter ea, quae ferebant, onera, subito duabus portis eruptionem fieri iubet. Factum est opportunitate loci, hostium inscientia ac defetigatione, virtute militum et superiorum pugnarum exercitatione, ut ne unum quidem nostrorum impetum ferrent ac statim terga verterent. Quos impeditos integris viribus 4 milites nostri consecuti magnam numerum eorum occiderunt; reliquos equites consectati paucos, qui ex fuga evaserant, reliquerunt. Sic uno tempore et 5 de navali pugna Sabinus et de Sabini victoria Caesar certior factus est, civitatesque omnes se statim Titurio dediderunt. Nam ut ad bella suscipienda 6 Gallorum alacer ac promptus est animus, sic mollis ac minime resistens ad calamitates perferendas mens eorum est.

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CC. 20-27.—CRASSUS IN AQUITANIA.

He marches against the Sontiates, who attack him from ambushes,

20 Eodem fere tempore Publius Crassus, cum in Aquitaniam pervenisset, quae pars, ut ante dictum est, et regionum latitudine et multitudine hominum ex tertia parte Galliae est aestimanda, cum intellegeret, in iis locis sibi bellum gerendum, ubi paucis ante annis Lucius Valerius Praeconinus legatus exercitu pulso interfectus esset, atque unde Lucius Mallius proconsul impedimentis amissis profugisset, non mediocrem sibi
2 diligentiam adhibendam intellegebat. Itaque re frumentaria provisa, auxiliis equitatuque comparato, multis praeterea viris fortibus Tolosa et Narbone, quae sunt civitates Galliae provinciae finitimae his regionibus, nominatim evocatis in Sontiatum fines
3 exercitum introduxit. Cuius adventu cognito, Sontiates magnis copiis coactis equitatuque, quo plurimum valebant, in itinere agmen nostrum adorti
4 primum equestre proelium commiserunt, deinde, equitatu suo pulso atque insequentibus nostris, subito pedestres copias, quas in convalle in insidiis collocaverant, ostenderunt. Hi nostros disiectos adorti proelium renovarunt.

but after fierce fighting are defeated and surrender.

21 Pugnatum est diu atque acriter, cum Sontiates superioribus victoriis freti in sua virtute totius Aquitaniae salutem positam putarent, nostri autem, quid sine imperatore et sine reliquis legionibus adulescentulo duce efficere possent, perspici cuperent: tandem confecti
2 vulneribus hostes terga vertere. Quorum magno

numero interfecto Crassus ex itinere oppidum Son- B.C. 56
tiatum oppugnare coepit. Quibus fortiter resisten- 3
tibus, vineas turresque egit. Illi alias eruptione temptata, alias cuniculis ad aggerem vineasque actis, cuius rei sunt longe peritissimi Aquitani, propterea quod multis locis apud eos aerariae structuraeque sunt, ubi diligentia nostrorum nihil his rebus profici posse intellexerunt, legatos ad Crassum mittunt, seque in deditionem ut recipiat, petunt. Qua re impetrata arma tradere iussi faciunt.

Unsuccessful sortie of Adiatunnus.

Atque in ea re omnium nostrorum intentis animis, 22
alia ex parte oppidi Adiatunnus, qui summam imperii tenebat, cum DC de-
votis, quos illi soldurios appellant, quorum haec est 2
condicio, uti omnibus in vita commodis una cum iis fruantur, quorum se amicitiae dediderint, si quid his per vim accidat, aut eundem casum una ferant aut
sibi mortem consciscant; neque adhuc hominum 3
memoria repertus est quisquam, qui eo interfecto,
cuius se amicitiae devovisset, mori recusaret: cum 4
his Adiatunnus eruptionem facere conatus, clamore ab ea parte munitionis sublato, cum ad arma milites concurrissent vehementerque ibi pugnatum esset, repulsus in oppidum tamen, uti eadem deditionis condicione uteretur, ab Crasso impetravit.

The surrounding tribes raise fresh forces,

Armis obsidibusque acceptis Crassus in fines Voca- 23
tium et Tarusatium profectus est. Tum 2
vero barbari commoti, quod oppidum et natura loci et manu munitum paucis diebus, quibus eo ventum erat, expugnatum cognoverant, legatos quoque versum dimittere, coniurare, obsides inter

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3 se dare, copias parare coeperunt. Mittuntur etiam ad eas civitates legati, quae sunt citerioris Hispaniae finitimae Aquitaniae: inde auxilia ducesque arces-
4 suntur. Quorum adventu magna cum auctoritate et magna cum hominum multitudine bellum gerere
5 conantur. Duces vero ii deliguntur, qui una cum Quinto Sertorio omnes annos fuerant summamque
6 scientiam rei militaris habere existimabantur. Hi consuetudine populi Romani loca capere, castra munire, commeatibus nostros intercludere instituunt.
7 Quod ubi Crassus animadvertit, suas copias propter exiguitatem non facile diduci, hostem et vagari et vias obsidere et castris satis praesidii relinquere, ob eam causam minus commode frumentum commeatumque sibi supportari, in dies hostium numerum augeri, non cunctandum existimavit, quin pugna decertaret. Hac re ad consilium delata, ubi omnes idem sentire intellexit, posterum diem pugnae constituit.

and try to cut off the Roman supplies.

24 Prima luce productis omnibus copiis duplici acie instituta, auxiliis in mediam aciem coniectis, quid hostes consilii caperent,
2 exspectabat. Illi, etsi propter multitudinem et veterem belli gloriam paucitatemque nostrorum se tuto dimicaturos existimabant, tamen tutius esse arbitrabantur, obsessis viis commeatu intercluso sine ullo vulnere victoria potiri, et, si propter inopiam rei frumentariae
3 Romani sese recipere coepissent, impeditos in agmine et sub sarcinis infirmiore animo adoriri cogitabant.
4 Hoc consilio probato ab ducibus, productis Roman-
5 orum copiis, sese castris tenebant. Hac re perspecta

Crassus, cum sua cunctatione atque opinione timoris B.C. 56
hostes nostros milites alacriores ad pugnandum effe-
cissent, atque omnium voces audirentur, exspectari
diutius non oportere, quin ad castra iretur, cohortatus
suos, omnibus cupientibus ad hostium castra con-
tendit.

Ibi cum alii fossas complerent, alii multis telis con- 25
iectis defensores vallo munitionibusque de-
Crassus storms their camp and defeats them with great slaughter.
pellerent, auxiliaresque, quibus ad pugnam
non multum Crassus confidebat, lapidibus
telisque subministrandis et ad aggerem cespitibus com-
portandis speciem atque opinionem pugnantium prae-
berent, cum item ab hostibus constanter ac non timide
pugnaretur telaque ex loco superiore missa non frustra
acciderent, equites circumitis hostium castris Crasso 2
renuntiaverunt, non eadem esse diligentia ab decu-
mana porta castra munita facilemque aditum habere.

Crassus equitum praefectos cohortatus, ut mag- 26
nis praemiis pollicitationibusque suos excitarent,
quid fieri velit, ostendit. Illi, ut erat imperatum, 2
eductis iis cohortibus, quae praesidio castris relictae
intritae ab labore erant, et longiore itinere circumduc-
tis, ne ex hostium castris conspici possent, omnium
oculis mentibusque ad pugnam intentis, celeriter ad
eas, quas diximus, munitiones pervenerunt atque his 3
prorutis prius in hostium castris constiterunt, quam
plane ab his videri aut, quid rei gereretur, cognosci
posset. Tum vero clamore ab ea parte audito nostri 4
redintegratis viribus, quod plerumque in spe victoriae
accidere consuevit, acrius impugnare coeperunt. Hostes 5
undique circumventi desperatis omnibus rebus se per

A.U.C. 698 munitiones deicere et fuga salutem petere intenderunt.
6 Quos equitatus apertissimis campis consectatus, ex milium L numero, quae ex Aquitania Cantabrisque convenisse constabat, vix quarta parte relicta, multa nocte se in castra recipit.

27 Hac audita pugna maxima pars Aquitaniae sese Crasso dedidit obsidesque ultro misit; quo in numero fuerunt Tarbelli, Bigerriones, Ptianii, Vocates, Tarusates, Elusates,
2 Gates, Ausci, Garumni, Sibuzates, Cocosates; paucae ultimae nationes anni tempore confisae, quod hiems suberat, hoc facere neglexerunt.

The greater part of Aquitania submits.

CC. 28-29.—CAESAR AMONG THE MORINI AND MENAPII.

28 Eodem fere tempore Caesar, etsi prope exacta iam aestas erat, tamen, quod omni Gallia pacata Morini Menapiique supererant, qui in armis essent neque ad eum umquam legatos de pace misissent, arbitratus, id bellum celeriter confici posse, eo exercitum adduxit; qui longe alia ratione ac reliqui Galli bellum gerere coeperunt.
2 Nam quod intellegebant, maximas nationes, quae proelio contendissent, pulsas superatasque esse, continentesque silvas ac paludes habebant, eo se suaque
3 omnia contulerunt. Ad quarum initium silvarum cum Caesar pervenisset castraque munire instituisset, neque hostis interim visus esset, dispersis in opere nostris, subito ex omnibus partibus silvae evolaverunt et in nostros impetum fecerunt. Nostri celeriter arma

These tribes retire to their woods and swamps.

ceperunt eosque in silvas reppulerunt et compluribus B.C. 56
interfectis longius impeditioribus locis secuti paucos ex
suis deperdiderunt.

C. is compelled by the weather to desist. He retires into winter quarters.

Reliquis deinceps diebus Caesar silvas cae- 29
dere instituit et, ne quis inermibus
imprudentibusque militibus ab latere
impetus fieri posset, omnem eam mate-
riam, quae erat caesa, conversam ad hostem colloca-
bat et pro vallo ad utrumque latus exstruebat. Incre- 2
dibili celeritate magno spatio paucis diebus confecto,
cum iam pecus atque extrema impedimenta ab nostris
tenerentur, ipsi densiores silvas peterent, eiusmodi
sunt tempestates consecutae, uti opus necessario inter-
mitteretur et continuatione imbrium diutius sub pelli-
bus milites contineri non possent. Itaque vastatis 3
omnibus eorum agris, vicis aedificiisque incensis
Caesar exercitum reduxit et in Aulercis Lexoviisque,
reliquis item civitatibus, quae proxime bellum fecerant.
in hibernis collocavit.

C. IULI CAESARIS
DE BELLO GALLICO
COMMENTARIUS QUARTUS.

CC. 1-15.—WAR WITH THE USIPETES AND TENCTERI.

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The Usipetes and Tencteri cross the Rhine, driven by the Suebi.

1 Ea, quae secuta est, hieme, qui fuit annus Gneo
Pompeio, Marco Crasso consulibus,
Usipetes Germani et item Tencteri
magna cum multitudine hominum flumen
Rhenum transierunt non longe a mari, quo Rhenus
2 influit. Causa transeundi fuit, quod ab Suebis com-
plures annos exagitati bello premebantur et agricultura
3 prohibebantur. Sueborum gens est longe maxima et

Manners of the Suebi.

bellicosissima Germanorum omnium.
4 Hi centum pagos habere dicuntur, ex
quibus quotannis singula milia armatorum bellandi
5 causa ex finibus educunt. Reliqui, qui domi manse-
runt, se atque illos alunt; hi rursus in vicem anno
6 post in armis sunt, illi domi remanent. Sic neque
agricultura nec ratio atque usus belli intermittitur.
7 Sed privati ac separati agri apud eos nihil est, neque

longius anno remanere uno in loco incolendi causa B.C.
licet. Neque multum frumento, sed maximam partem 8 55
lacte atque pecore vivunt, multumque sunt in vena-
tionibus; quae res et cibi genere et cotidiana exer- 9
citatione et libertate vitae, cum, a pueris nullo officio
aut disciplina assuefacti, nihil omnino contra volunta-
tem faciant, et vires alit et immani corporum magni-
tudine homines efficit. Atque in eam se consuetudi- 10
nem adduxerunt, ut locis frigidissimis neque vestitus
praeter pellis haberent quicquam, quarum propter
exiguitatem magna est corporis pars aperta, et
lavarentur in fluminibus.

Mercatoribus est aditus magis eo, ut, quae bello **2**
ceperint, quibus vendant, habeant, quam quo ullam
rem ad se importari desiderent. Quin etiam iumentis, 2
quibus maxime Galli delectantur quaeque impenso
parant pretio, Germani importatis non utuntur, sed
quae sunt apud eos nata, parva atque deformia, haec
cotidiana exercitatione, summi ut sint laboris, efficiunt.
Equestribus proeliis saepe ex equis desiliunt ac pedibus 3
proeliantur, eosque eodem remanere vestigio assue-
fecerunt, ad quos se celeriter, cum usus est, recipiunt;
neque eorum moribus turpius quicquam aut inertius 4
habetur quam ephippiis uti. Itaque ad quemvis 5
numerum ephippiatorum equitum quamvis pauci
adire audent. [Vinum ad se omnino importari non 6
sinunt, quod ea re ad laborem ferendum remollescere
homines atque effeminari arbitrantur.]

Publice maximam putant esse laudem, quam latis- **3**
sime a suis finibus vacare agros: hac re significari,
magnum numerum civitatium suam vim sustinere non

F

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2 posse. Itaque una ex parte a Suebis circiter milia
3 passuum sexcenta agri vacare dicuntur. Ad alteram
The Ubii.
partem succedunt Ubii, quorum fuit civitas ampla atque florens, ut est captus Germanorum, et paulo, quam eiusdem generis ceteri, sunt humaniores, propterea quod Rhenum attingunt multumque ad eos mercatores ventitant et ipsi propter propinquitatem
4 Gallicis sunt moribus assuefacti. Hos cum Suebi, multis saepe bellis experti, propter amplitudinem gravitatemque civitatis finibus expellere non potuissent, tamen vectigales sibi fecerunt ac multo humiliores infirmioresque redegerunt.

4 In eadem causa fuerunt Usipetes et Tencteri, quos
The U. and T. evade the Menapii and cross the Rhine.
supra diximus, qui complures annos
2 Sueborum vim sustinuerunt, ad extremum tamen agris expulsi et multis locis Germaniae triennium vagati ad Rhenum pervenerunt;
3 quas regiones Menapii incolebant et ad utramque ripam fluminis agros, aedificia vicosque habebant, sed tantae multitudinis aditu perterriti ex iis aedificiis, quae trans flumen habuerant, demigraverunt et cis Rhenum dispositis praesidiis Germanos transire prohi-
4 bebant. Illi omnia experti cum neque vi contendere propter inopiam navium neque clam transire propter custodias Menapiorum possent, reverti se in suas sedes regionesque simulaverunt et tridui viam progressi
5 rursus reverterunt atque omni hoc itinere una nocte equitatu confecto inscios inopinantesque Menapios
6 oppresserunt, qui de Germanorum discessu per exploratores certiores facti sine metu trans Rhenum in
7 suos vicos remigraverant. His interfectis navibusque

eorum occupatis, priusquam ea pars Menapiorum, quae B.C. 55
citra Rhenum erat, certior fieret, flumen transierunt
atque omnibus eorum aedificiis occupatis reliquam
partem hiemis se eorum copiis aluerunt.

C.'s estimate of the Gallic character.

His de rebus Caesar certior factus et infirmitatem 5
Gallorum veritus, quod sunt in consiliis
capiendis mobiles et novis plerumque
rebus student, nihil his committendum existimavit.
Est enim hoc Gallicae consuetudinis, uti et viatores 2
etiam invitos consistere cogant et, quid quisque eorum
de quaque re audierit aut cognoverit, quaerant, et
mercatores in oppidis vulgus circumsistat quibusque
ex regionibus veniant quasque ibi res cognoverint,
pronuntiare cogant. His rebus atque auditionibus 3
permoti de summis saepe rebus consilia ineunt, quorum
eos in vestigio poenitere necesse est, cum incertis
rumoribus serviant et plerique ad voluntatem eorum
ficta respondeant.

C. marches to meet the Germans,

Qua consuetudine cognita Caesar, ne graviori bello 6
occurreret, maturius, quam consuerat, ad
exercitum proficiscitur. Eo cum venisset, 2
ea, quae fore suspicatus erat, facta cognovit: missas 3
legationes ab nonnullis civitatibus ad Germanos in-
vitatosque eos, uti ab Rheno discederent, omniaque,
quae postulassent, ab se fore parata. Qua spe adducti 4
Germani latius vagabantur et in fines Eburonum et
Condrusorum, qui sunt Treverorum clientes, pervene-
rant. Principibus Galliae evocatis Caesar ea, quae 5
cognoverat, dissimulanda sibi existimavit eorumque
animis permulsis et confirmatis equitatuque imperato
bellum cum Germanis gerere constituit.

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who send envoys to meet him.

7 Re frumentaria comparata equitibusque delectis
iter in ea loca facere coepit, quibus in
2 locis esse Germanos audiebat. A quibus
cum paucorum dierum iter abesset, legati ab his
3 venerunt, quorum haec fuit oratio: Germanos neque
priores populo Romano bellum inferre, neque tamen
recusare, si lacessantur, quin armis contendant, quod
Germanorum consuetudo sit a maioribus tradita,
quicumque bellum inferant, resistere neque depre-
cari. Haec tamen dicere, venisse invitos, eiectos
domo; si suam gratiam Romani velint, posse iis
4 utiles esse amicos; vel sibi agros attribuant vel
5 patiantur eos tenere, quos armis possederint: sese
unis Suebis concedere, quibus ne dii quidem immor-
tales pares esse possint: reliquum quidem in terris
esse neminem, quem non superare possint.

His reply.

8 Ad haec, quae visum est, Caesar respondit; sed
exitus fuit orationis: Sibi nullam cum
his amicitiam esse posse, si in Gallia remanerent;
2 neque verum esse, qui suos fines tueri non potuerint,
alienos occupare; neque ullos in Gallia vacare agros,
qui dari tantae praesertim multitudini sine iniuria
3 possint; sed licere, si velint, in Ubiorum finibus
considere, quorum sint legati apud se et de Sueborum
iniuriis querantur et a se auxilium petant: hoc se
Ubiis imperaturum.

They try to gain time.

9 Legati haec se ad suos relaturos dixerunt et re
deliberata post diem tertium ad Caesarem
reversuros: interea ne propius se castra
2 moveret, petierunt. Ne id quidem Caesar ab se
3 impetrari posse dixit. Cognoverat enim, magnam

B.C. 55

partem equitatus ab iis aliquot diebus ante praedandi
frumentandique causa ab Ambivaritos trans Mosam
missam: hos expectari equites atque eius rei causa
moram interponi arbitrabatur.

The Mosa (Maas, Meuse).

Mosa profluit ex monte Vosego, qui est in finibus 10
Lingonum, et parte quadam ex Rheno
recepta, quae appellatur Vacalus, insulam
efficit Batavorum neque longius ab eo milibus pas- 2
suum LXXX in Oceanum influit. Rhenus autem 3
oritur ex Lepontiis, qui Alpes incolunt, et longo
spatio per fines Nantuatium, Helvetiorum, Sequan- 4
orum, Mediomatricum, Tribocorum, Treverorum
citatus fertur et, ubi Oceano appropinquavit, in plures
defluit partes multis ingentibusque insulis effectis,
quarum pars magna a feris barbarisque nationibus
incolitur, ex quibus sunt, qui piscibus atque ovis 5
avium vivere existimantur, multisque capitibus in
Oceanum influit.

Negotiations.

Caesar cum ab hoste non amplius passuum XII 11
milibus abesset, ut erat constitutum ad
eum legati revertuntur; qui in itinere congressi
magnopere, ne longius progrederetur, orabant. Cum 2
id non impetrassent, petebant, uti ad eos equites,
qui agmen antecessissent, praemitteret eosque pugna
prohiberet, sibique ut potestatem faceret in Ubios
legatos mittendi; quorum si principes ac senatus sibi 3
iureiurando fidem fecisset, ea condicione, quae a
Caesare ferretur, se usuros ostendebant: ad has res
conficiendas sibi tridui spatium daret. Haec omnia 4
Caesar eodem illo pertinere arbitrabatur, ut tridui
mora interposita equites eorum, qui abessent, rever-

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terentur; tamen sese non longius milibus passuum
quattuor aquationis causa processurum eo die dixit:
5 huc postero die quam frequentissimi convenirent, ut
de eorum postulatis cognosceret. Interim ad prae-
fectos, qui cum omni equitatu antecesserant, mittit,
qui nuntiarent, ne hostes proelio lacesserent et, si
ipsi lacesserentur, sustinerent, quoad ipse cum ex-
ercitu propius accessisset.

Treacherous attack of the Germans.

12 At hostes, ubi primum nostros equites conspexe-
runt, quorum erat quinque milium nu-
merus, cum ipsi non amplius octingentos
equites haberent, quod ii, qui frumentandi causa
ierant trans Mosam, nondum redierant, nihil timen-
tibus nostris, quod legati eorum paulo ante a Caesare
discesserant atque is dies indutiis erat ab his petitus,
2 impetu facto celeriter nostros perturbaverunt; rursus
resistentibus, consuetudine sua ad pedes desiluerunt,
subfossis equis compluribusque nostris deiectis reli-
quos in fugam coniecerunt atque ita perterritos ege-
runt, ut non prius fuga desisterent, quam in conspec-
3 tum agminis nostri venissent. In eo proelio ex
equitibus nostris interficiuntur quattuor

Bravery of Piso and his brother.

4 et septuaginta, in his vir fortissimus
Piso Aquitanus, amplissimo genere natus, cuius
avus in civitate sua regnum obtinuerat, amicus
5 ab senatu nostro appellatus. Hic cum fratri inter-
cluso ab hostibus auxilium ferret, illum ex peri-
culo eripuit, ipse equo vulnerato deiectus, quoad
6 potuit, fortissime restitit; cum circumventus multis
vulneribus acceptis cecidisset atque id frater, qui
iam proelio excesserat, procul animadvertisset, in-

citato equo se hostibus obtulit atque interfectus est. B.C. 55

13 Hoc facto proelio Caesar neque iam sibi legatos audiendos neque condiciones accipiendas arbitrabatur ab iis, qui per dolum atque insidias, petita pace, ultro bellum intulissent; exspectare vero, 2 dum hostium copiae augerentur equitatusque reverteretur, summae dementiae esse iudicabat, et cognita 3 Gallorum infirmitate, quantum iam apud eos hostes uno proelio auctoritatis essent consecuti, sentiebat; quibus ad consilia capienda nihil spatii dandum existimabat. His constitutis rebus et consilio cum 4 legatis et quaestore communicato, ne quem diem pugnae praetermitteret, opportunissima res accidit, quod postridie eius diei mane eadem et perfidia et simulatione usi Germani frequentes omnibus principibus maioribusque natu adhibitis ad eum in castra venerunt, simul, ut dice- 5 batur, sui purgandi causa, quod contra, atque esset dictum et ipsi petissent, proelium pridie commisissent, simul ut, si quid possent, de indutiis fallendo impetrarent. Quos sibi Caesar oblatos gavisus, illos 6 retineri iussit; ipse omnes copias castris eduxit equitatumque, quod recenti proelio perterritum esse existimabat, agmen subsequi iussit.

C.'s anger.

He detains the German envoys,

14 Acie triplici instituta et celeriter octo milium itinere confecto prius ad hostium castra pervenit, quam, quid ageretur, Germani sentire possent. Qui omnibus rebus subito per- 2 territi et celeritate adventus nostri et discessu suorum, neque consilii habendi neque arma capiendi spatio

and attacks the enemy suddenly, utterly defeating them.

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dato, perturbantur, copiasne adversus hostem ducere,
an castra defendere, an fuga salutem petere praestaret.
3 Quorum timor cum fremitu et concursu significaretur,
milites nostri pristini diei perfidia incitati in castra
4 irruperunt. Quo loco, qui celeriter arma capere potue-
runt, paulisper nostris restiterunt atque inter carros
5 impedimentaque proelium commiserunt; at reliqua
multitudo puerorum mulierumque—nam cum omnibus
suis domo excesserant Rhenumque transierant—passim
fugere coepit; ad quos consectandos Caesar equitatum
misit.

15 Germani, post tergum clamore audito, cum suos
interfici viderent, armis abiectis signisque militaribus
2 relictis se ex castris eiecerunt, et cum ad confluentem
Mosae et Rheni pervenissent, reliqua fuga desperata,
magno numero interfecto, reliqui se in flumen praeci-
pitaverunt atque ibi timore, lassitudine, vi fluminis
3 oppressi perierunt. Nostri ad unum omnes incolumes,
perpaucis vulneratis, ex tanti belli timore, cum hostium
numerus capitum CCCCXXX milium fuisset, se in castra
4 receperunt. Caesar iis, quos in castris retinuerat, dis-
5 cedendi potestatem fecit. Illi supplicia cruciatusque
Gallorum veriti, quorum agros vexaverant, remanere
se apud eum velle dixerunt. His Caesar libertatem
concessit.

16 Germanico bello confecto multis de causis Caesar

C.s reasons for crossing the Rhine

statuit sibi Rhenum esse transeundum;
quarum illa fuit iustissima, quod, cum
videret Germanos tam facile impelli, ut in Galliam
venirent, suis quoque rebus eos timere voluit, cum
intellegerent, et posse et audere populi Romani exer-

citum Rhenum transire. Accessit etiam, quod illa 2 B.C. 55
pars equitatus Usipetum et Tencterorum, quam supra
commemoravi praedandi frumentandique causa Mosam
transisse neque proelio interfuisse, post fugam suorum
se trans Rhenum in fines Sugambrorum receperat
seque cum iis coniunxerat. Ad quos cum Caesar 3
nuntios misisset qui postularent, eos, qui sibi Galliaeque bellum intulissent, sibi dederent, responderunt:
Populi Romani imperium Rhenum finire: si se invito 4
Germanos in Galliam transire non aequum existimaret,
cur sui quicquam esse imperii aut potestatis trans
Rhenum postularet? Ubii autem, qui uni ex Trans- 5
rhenanis ad Caesarem legatos miserant, amicitiam
fecerant, obsides dederant, magnopere orabant, ut sibi
auxilium ferret, quod graviter ab Suebis premerentur;
vel, si id facere occupationibus reipublicae prohibere- 6
tur, exercitum modo Rhenum transportaret: id sibi
ad auxilium spemque reliqui temporis satis futurum.
Tantum esse nomen atque opinionem eius exercitus 7
Ariovisto pulso et hoc novissimo proelio facto etiam
ad ultimas Germanorum nationes, uti opinione et
amicitia populi Romani tuti esse possint. Navium 8
magnam copiam ad transportandum exercitum pollicebantur.

He builds a bridge over the Rhine; nature of the bridge.

Caesar his de causis, quas commemoravi, Rhenum **17**
transire decreverat; sed navibus transire
neque satis tutum esse arbitrabatur, neque
suae neque populi Romani dignitatis esse
statuebat. Itaque, etsi summa difficultas faciendi 2
pontis proponebatur propter latitudinem, rapiditatem
altitudinemque fluminis, tamen id sibi contendendum

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aut aliter non traducendum exercitum existimabat.
3 Rationem pontis hanc instituit. Tigna bina sesqui-
pedalia paulum ab imo praeacuta dimensa ad alti-
tudinem fluminis intervallo pedum duorum inter se
4 iungebat. Haec cum machinationibus immissa in
flumen defixerat fistucisque adegerat, non sublicae
modo directe ad perpendiculum, sed prone ac fasti-
gate, ut secundum naturam fluminis procumberent,
5 his item contraria duo ad eundem modum iuncta
intervallo pedum quadragenum ab inferiore parte
contra vim atque impetum fluminis conversa statue-
6 bat. Haec utraque insuper bipedalibus trabibus im-
missis, quantum eorum tignorum iunctura distabat,
binis utrimque fibulis ab extrema parte distinebantur;
7 quibus disclusis atque in contrariam partem revinctis
tanta erat operis firmitudo atque ea rerum natura, ut,
quo maior vis aquae se incitavisset, hoc artius illigata
8 tenerentur. Haec directa materia iniecta contexe-
9 bantur ac longuriis cratibusque consternebantur; ac
nihilo secius sublicae et ad inferiorem partem fluminis
oblique agebantur, quae pro ariete subiectae et cum
10 omni opere coniunctae vim fluminis exciperent, et
aliae item supra pontem mediocri spatio, ut, si ar-
borum trunci sive naves deiciendi operis essent a
barbaris missae, his defensoribus earum rerum vis mi-
nueretur, neu ponti nocerent.

C. marches into the lands of the Sugambri, who flee into hiding.

18 Diebus decem, quibus materia coepta erat compor-
tari, omni opere effecto, exercitus tradu-
2 citur. Caesar ad utramque partem pontis
firmo praesidio relicto in fines Sugam-
3 brorum contendit. Interim a compluribus civita-

tibus ad eum legati veniunt; quibus pacem atque B.C. 55
amicitiam petentibus liberaliter respondit obsidesque
ad se adduci iubet. Sugambri ex eo tempore, 4
quo pons institui coeptus est, fuga comparata hor
tantibus iis, quos ex Tencteris atque Usipetibus
apud se habebant, finibus suis excesserant suaque
omnia exportaverant seque in solitudinem ac silvas
abdiderant.

C. lays waste their lands, and after freeing the Ubii from the oppression of the Suebi returns to Gaul.

Caesar paucos dies in eorum finibus moratus omni- 19
bus vicis aedificiisque incensis frument-
isque succisis se in fines Ubiorum recepit, 2
atque iis auxilium suum pollicitus, si ab
Suebis premerentur, haec ab iis cognovit:
Suebos, posteaquam per exploratores pontem fieri
comperissent, more suo concilio habito nuntios in
omnes partes dimisisse, ut de oppidis demigrarent,
liberos, uxores suaque omnia in silvis deponerent,
atque omnes, qui arma ferre possent, unum in locum
convenirent: hunc esse delectum medium fere regionum 3
earum, quas Suebi obtinerent; hic Romanorum ad-
ventum exspectare atque ibi decertare constituisse.
Quod ubi Caesar comperit, omnibus rebus iis con- 4
fectis, quarum rerum causa traducere exercitum
constituerat, ut Germanis metum iniceret, ut Sugam-
bros ulcisceretur, ut Ubios obsidione liberaret,
diebus omnino decem et octo trans Rhenum con-
sumptis, satis et ad laudem et ad utilitatem pro-
fectum arbitratus, se in Galliam recepit pontemque
rescidit.

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CC. 20-36—CAESAR'S FIRST INVASION OF BRITAIN.

He tries to get information about Britain.

20 Exigua parte aestatis reliqua Caesar, etsi in his locus, quod omnis Gallia ad septentriones vergit, maturae sunt hiemes tamen in Britanniam proficisci contendit, quod omnibus fere Gallicis bellis hostibus nostris inde subministrata auxilia intellegebat et, si tempus anni ad bellum
2 gerendum deficeret, tamen magno sibi usui fore arbitrabatur, si modo insulam adisset, et genus hominum perspexisset, loca, portus, aditus cognovisset; quae omnia fere Gallis erant incognita.
3 Neque enim temere praeter mercatores illo adit quisquam, neque iis ipsis quicquam praeter oram maritimam atque eas regiones, quae sunt contra
4 Gallias, notum est. Itaque vocatis ad se undique mercatoribus, neque quanta esset insulae magnitudo, neque quae aut quantae nationes incolerent, neque quem usum belli haberent aut quibus institutis uterentur, neque qui essent ad maiorum navium multitudinem idonei portus, reperire poterat.

He sends on C. Volusenus, himself staying on the coast of Gaul.

21 Ad haec cognoscenda, priusquam periclum faceret, idoneum esse arbitratus Gaium Volu-
2 senum cum navi longa praemittit. Huic mandat, ut exploratis omnibus rebus ad
3 se quam primum revertatur. Ipse cum omnibus copiis in Morinos proficiscitur, quod inde erat brevissimus
4 in Britanniam traiectus. Huc naves undique ex finitimis regionibus et, quam superiore aestate ad Veneticum bellum effecerat classem, iubet convenire.
5 Interim consilio eius cognito et per mercatores

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British envoys come to C., and are sent back with Commius.

perlato ad Britannos, a compluribus insulae civitatibus ad eum legati veniunt, qui polliceantur obsides dare atque imperio populi Romani obtemperare. Quibus 6
auditis, liberaliter pollicitus hortatusque, ut in ea sententia permanerent, eos domum remittit et cum
iis una Commium, quem ipse Atrebatibus superatis 7
regem ibi constituerat, cuius et virtutem et consilium probabat et quem sibi fidelem esse arbitrabatur, cuiusque auctoritas in his regionibus magni habe-
batur, mittit. Huic imperat, quas possit, adeat civi- 8
tates horteturque, ut populi Romani fidem sequantur, seque celeriter eo venturum nuntiet.

Return of Volusenus

Volusenus perspectis regionibus omnibus 9
quantum ei facultatis dari potuit, qui navi egredi ac se barbaris committere non auderet, quinto die ad Caesarem revertitur, quaeque ibi perspexisset, renuntiat.

Envoys from the Morini.

Dum in his locis Caesar navium parandarum 22
causa moratur, ex magna parte Morinorum ad eum legati venerunt, qui se de superioris temporis consilio excusarent, quod homines barbari et nostrae consuetudinis imperiti bellum populo Romano fecissent, seque ea, quae imperasset,
facturos pollicerentur. Hoc sibi Caesar 2

Caesar's arrangements.

satis opportune accidisse arbitratus, quod neque post tergum hostem relinquere volebat neque belli gerendi propter anni tempus facultatem habebat neque has tantularum rerum occupationes Britanniae anteponendas iudicabat, magnum iis numerum obsi-
dum imperat. Quibus adductis eos in fidem recepit. 3

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Navibus circiter LXXX onerariis coactis contractisque, quod satis esse ad duas transportandas legiones existimabat, quod praeterea navium longarum habebat,
4 quaestori, legatis praefectisque distribuit. Huc accedebant XVIII onerariae naves, quae ex eo loco ab milibus passuum VIII vento tenebantur, quo minus in eundem portum venire possent: has equitibus distri-
5 buit. Reliquum exercitum Quinto Titurio Sabino et Lucio Aurunculeio Cottae legatis in Menapios atque in eos pagos Morinorum, ab quibus ad eum legati non
6 venerant, ducendum dedit; Publium Sulpicium Rufum legatum cum eo praesidio, quod satis esse arbitrabatur, portum tenere iussit.

23 His constitutis rebus nactus idoneam ad navigandum tempestatem tertia fere vigilia solvit equitesque in ulteriorem portum pro-

He crosses: nature of the landing place.

2 gredi et naves conscendere et se sequi iussit. A quibus cum paulo tardius esset administratum, ipse hora circiter diei quarta cum primis navibus Britanniam attigit atque ibi in omnibus collibus expositas
3 hostium copias armatas conspexit. Cuius loci haec erat natura, atque ita montibus angustis mare continebatur, uti ex locis superioribus in litus telum
4 adigi posset. Hunc ad egrediendum nequaquam idoneum locum arbitratus, dum reliquae naves eo convenirent, ad horam nonam in ancoris exspectavit.
5 Interim legatis tribunisque militum convocatis, et quae ex Voluseno cognosset et quae fieri vellet, ostendit monuitque, ut rei militaris ratio, maxime ut maritimae res postularent, ut quae celerem atque instabilem motum haberent,

His instructions to his officers.

B.C. 55

ad nutum et ad tempus omnes res ab iis administrarentur. His dimissis et ventum et aestum uno 6
tempore nactus secundum, dato signo et sublatis ancoris circiter milia passuum septem ab eo loco progressus, aperto ac plano litore naves constituit.

At barbari, consilio Romanorum cognito, praemisso 24
equitatu et essedariis, quo plerumque genere in proeliis uti consuerunt, reliquis copiis subsecuti nostros navibus egredi prohibebant.

Difficulties of landing, fear of the soldiers.

Erat ob has causas summa difficultas, quod naves 2
propter magnitudinem nisi in alto constitui non poterant, militibus autem ignotis locis, impeditis manibus, magno et gravi onere armorum oppressis simul et de navibus desiliendum et in fluctibus consistendum et cum hostibus erat pugnandum, cum illi aut ex 3
arido aut paulum in aquam progressi omnibus membris expeditis, notissimis locis audacter tela conicerent et equos insuefactos incitarent. Quibus rebus nostri 4
perterriti atque huius omnino generis pugnae imperiti non eadem alacritate ac studio, quo in pedestribus uti proeliis consuerant, utebantur.

Quod ubi Caesar animadvertit, naves longas, quarum 25
et species erat barbaris inusitatior et motus ad usum expeditior, paulum removeri ab onerariis navibus et remis incitari et ad latus apertum hostium constitui atque inde fundis, sagittis, tormentis hostes propelli ac submoveri iussit; quae res magno usui nostris fuit. Nam et navium figura et 2
remorum motu et inusitato genere tormentorum permoti barbari constiterunt ac paulum modo pedem retulerunt. Atque nostris militibus cunctantibus, 3

C.'s tactics.

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Resolute action of the standard-bearer of the 10th legion.

maxime propter altitudinem maris, qui decimae legionis aquilam ferebat, contestatus deos, ut ea res legioni feliciter eveniret, "Desilite," inquit, "milites, nisi vultis aquilam hostibus prodere: ego certe meum reipub-
4 licae atque imperatori officium praestitero." Hoc cum voce magna dixisset, se ex navi proiecit atque
5 in hostes aquilam ferre coepit. Tum nostri cohortati inter se, ne tantum dedecus admitteretur, universi
6 ex navi desiluerunt. Hos item ex proximis navibus cum conspexissent, subsecuti hostibus appropinquarunt.

Difficult position of the Romans, who at last land and repel the Britons.

26 Pugnatum est ab utrisque acriter. Nostri tamen, quod neque ordines servare neque firmiter insistere neque signa subsequi poterant, atque alius alia ex navi quibuscumque signis occurrerat, se aggregabat, magnopere pertur-
2 babantur; hostes vero, notis omnibus vadis, ubi ex litore aliquos singulares ex navi egredientes conspexerant, incitatis equis impeditos adoriebantur,
3 plures paucos circumsistebant, alii ab latere aperto
4 in universos tela coniciebant. Quod cum animadvertisset Caesar, scaphas longarum navium, item speculatoria navigia militibus compleri iussit et, quos laborantes conspexerat, his subsidia submittebat.
5 Nostri, simul in arido constiterunt, suis omnibus consecutis in hostes impetum fecerunt atque eos in fugam dederunt, neque longius prosequi potuerunt, quod equites cursum tenere atque insulam capere non potuerant. Hoc unum ad pristinam fortunam Caesari defuit.

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The natives send envoys and surrender to C., who imposes hostages.

Hostes proelio superati, simul atque se ex fuga 27
receperunt, statim ad Caesarem legatos de pace miserunt; obsides daturos, quaeque imperasset, facturos polliciti sunt.
Una cum his legatis Commius Atrebas venit, quem 2
supra demonstraveram a Caesare in Britanniam praemissum. Hunc illi e navi egressum, cum ad eos 3
oratoris modo Caesaris mandata deferret, comprehenderant atque in vincula coniecerant; tum proelio facto remiserunt. In petenda pace eius rei culpam 4
in multitudinem coniecerunt et, propter imprudentiam ut ignosceretur, petiverunt. Caesar questus, quod, 5
cum ultro in continentem legatis missis pacem ab se petissent, bellum sine causa intulissent, ignoscere imprudentiae dixit obsidesque imperavit; quorum illi 6
partem statim dederunt, partem ex longinquioribus locis arcessitam paucis diebus sese daturos dixerunt.
Interea suos remigrare in agros iusserunt, principesque 7
undique convenire et se civitatesque suas Caesari commendare coeperunt.

A storm prevents the 18 ships from landing,

His rebus pace confirmata, post diem quartum, 28
quam est in Britanniam ventum, naves XVIII, de quibus supra demonstratum est, quae equites sustulerant, ex superiore portu leni vento solverunt. Quae cum appropinquarent 2
Britanniae et ex castris viderentur, tanta tempestas subito coorta est, ut nulla earum cursum tenere posset, sed aliae eodem, unde erant profectae, referrentur, aliae ad inferiorem partem insulae, quae est propius solis occasum, magno sui cum periculo, deicerentur;
quae tamen ancoris iactis cum fluctibus complerentur, 3

A.U.C. 699 necessario adversa nocte in altum profectae continentem petierunt.

29 Eadem nocte accidit, ut esset luna plena, qui dies maritimos aestus maximos in Oceano efficere consuevit, nostrisque id erat

and severely damages the rest of the fleet.

2 incognitum. Ita uno tempore et longas naves, quibus Caesar exercitum transportandum curaverat quasque in aridum subduxerat, aestus compleverat, et onerarias, quae ad ancoras erant deligatae, tempestas afflictabat, neque ulla nostris facultas aut administrandi aut auxiliandi dabatur.
3 Compluribus navibus fractis reliquae cum essent funibus, ancoris reliquisque armamentis amissis ad navigandum inutiles, magna, id quod necesse erat accidere,

Panic among the Romans.

4 totius exercitus perturbatio facta est. Neque enim naves erant aliae, quibus reportari possent, et omnia deerant, quae ad reficiendas naves erant usui, et, quod omnibus constabat, hiemari in Gallia oportere, frumentum his in locis in hiemem provisum non erat.

30 Quibus rebus cognitis principes Britanniae qui post proelium ad Caesarem convenerant, inter se collocuti, cum equites et naves et frumentum Romanis deesse intellegerent et paucitatem militum ex castrorum exiguitate cognoscerent, quae hoc erant etiam angustiora, quod sine impedimentis

The native chiefs again think of hostilities.

2 Caesar legiones transportaverat, optimum factu esse duxerunt, rebellione facta frumento commeatuque nostros prohibere et rem in hiemem producere, quod his superatis aut reditu interclusis neminem postea belli inferendi causa in Britanniam transiturum confidebant. Itaque rursus coniuratione facta paulatim ex

castris discedere ac suos clam ex agris deducere coeperunt. B.C. 55

31 At Caesar, etsi nondum eorum consilia cognoverat, tamen et ex eventu navium suarum et ex eo, quod obsides dare intermiserant, fore id, quod accidit, suspicabatur. Itaque ad omnes 2 casus subsidia comparabat. Nam et frumentum ex agris cotidie in castra conferebat et, quae gravissime afflictae erant naves, earum materia atque aere ad reliquas reficiendas utebatur et, quae ad eas res erant usui, ex continenti comportari iubebat. Itaque, cum 3 summo studio a militibus administraretur, XII navibus amissis, reliquis ut navigari commode posset, effecit.

C. takes energetic steps.

32 Dum ea geruntur, legione ex consuetudine una frumentatum missa, quae appellabatur septima, neque ulla ad id tempus belli suspicione interposita, cum pars hominum in agris remaneret, pars etiam in castra ventitaret, ii, qui pro portis castrorum in statione erant, Caesari nuntiaverunt, pulverem maiorem, quam consuetudo ferret, in ea parte videri, quam in partem legio iter fecisset. Caesar id, 2 quod erat, suspicatus, aliquid novi a barbaris initum consilii, cohortes, quae in stationibus erant, secum in eam partem proficisci, ex reliquis duas in stationem cohortes succedere, reliquas armari et confestim sese subsequi iussit. Cum paulo longius a castris pro- 3 cessisset, suos ab hostibus premi atque aegre sustinere et conferta legione ex omnibus partibus tela conici animadvertit. Nam quod omni ex reliquis partibus 4 demesso frumento pars una erat reliqua, suspicati hostes, huc nostros esse venturos, noctu in silvis

Attack on the Romans.

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5 delituerant; tum dispersos depositis armis in metendo
occupatos subito adorti, paucis interfectis reliquos
incertis ordinibus perturbaverant, simul equitatu
atque essedis circumdederant.

Mode of using the native chariot.

33 Genus hoc est ex essedis pugnae. Primo per omnes
partes perequitant et tela coniciunt atque
ipso terrore equorum et strepitu rotarum
ordines plerumque perturbant, et cum se inter equitum
turmas insinuaverunt, ex essedis desiliunt et pedibus
2 proeliantur. Aurigae interim paulatim ex proelio
excedunt atque ita currus collocant, ut, si illi a mul-
titudine hostium premantur, expeditum ad suos recep-
3 tum habeant. Ita mobilitatem equitum, stabilitatem
peditum in proeliis praestant, ac tantum usu cotidiano
et exercitatione efficiunt, uti in declivi ac praecipiti
loco incitatos equos sustinere et brevi moderari ac
flectere et per temonem percurrere et in iugo insistere
et se inde in currus citissime recipere consuerint.

C. comes up and draws off his men into camp.

34 Quibus rebus perturbatis nostris novitate pugnae
tempore opportunissimo Caesar auxilium
tulit: namque eius adventu hostes con-
2 stiterunt, nostri se ex timore receperunt. Quo facto
ad lacessendum et ad committendum proelium alienum
esse tempus arbitratus suo se loco continuit et brevi
3 tempore intermisso in castra legiones reduxit. Dum
haec geruntur, nostris omnibus occupatis,
qui erant in agris reliqui, discesserunt.
4 Secutae sunt continuos complures dies
tempestates, quae et nostros in castris continerent et
5 hostem a pugna prohiberent. Interim barbari nuntios
in omnes partes dimiserunt paucitatemque nostrorum

The Britons disperse to re-assemble in greater numbers,

B.C. 55

militum suis praedicaverunt et, quanta praedae
faciendae atque in perpetuum sui liberandi facultas
daretur, si Romanos castris expulissent, demonstrav-
erunt. His rebus celeriter magna multitudine peditatus
equitatusque coacta ad castra venerunt.

but are defeated.

Caesar etsi idem, quod superioribus diebus acciderat, 35
fore videbat, ut, si essent hostes pulsi,
celeritate periculum effugerent, tamen nactus equites
circiter xxx, quos Commius Atrebas, de quo ante
dictum est, secum transportaverat, legiones in acie
pro castris constituit. Commisso proelio diutius 2
nostrorum militum impetum hostes ferre non potu-
erunt ac terga verterunt. Quos tanto spatio secuti, 3
quantum cursu et viribus efficere potuerunt, complures
ex iis occiderunt, deinde omnibus longe lateque aedi-
ficiis incensis se in castra receperunt.

Envoys come to treat of peace.

Eodem die legati ab hostibus missi ad Caesarem de 36
pace venerunt. His Caesar numerum 2
obsidum, quem ante imperaverat, dupli-
cavit eosque in continentem adduci iussit, quod pro-
pinqua die aequinoctii infirmis navibus hiemi navi-
gationem subiciendam non existimabat.

C. returns to Gaul.

Ipse idoneam tempestatem nanctus paulo post mediam 3
noctem naves solvit; quae omnes incolumes ad con-
tinentem pervenerunt; sed ex iis onerariae duae 4
eosdem, quos reliqui, portus capere non potuerunt et
paulo infra delatae sunt.

CC. 37-38.—CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE MORINI AND MENAPII.

Quibus ex navibus cum essent expositi milites 37

A.U.C. 699 circiter trecenti atque in castra contenderent, Morini, quos Caesar in Britanniam proficiscens pacatos reliquerat, spe praedae adducti primo non ita magno suorum numero circumsteterunt ac, si sese interfici
2 nollent, arma ponere iusserunt. Cum illi orbe facto sese defenderent, celeriter ad clamorem hominum circiter milia sex convenerunt. Qua re nuntiata Caesar omnem ex castris equitatum suis auxilio misit.
3 Interim nostri milites impetum hostium sustinuerunt atque amplius horis quattuor fortissime pugnaverunt et paucis vulneribus acceptis complures ex his occi-
4 derunt. Postea vero quam equitatus noster in conspectum venit, hostes abiectis armis terga verterunt magnusque eorum numerus est occisus.

38 Caesar postero die Titum Labienum legatum cum iis legionibus, quas ex Britannia reduxerat, in Morinos,
2 qui rebellionem fecerant, misit. Qui cum propter siccitates paludum, quo se reciperent, non haberent, quo superiore anno perfugio fuerant usi, omnes fere in
3 potestatem Labieni pervenerunt. At Q. Titurius et L. Cotta legati, qui in Menapiorum fines legiones duxerant, omnibus eorum agris vastatis, frumentis succisis, aedificiis incensis, quod Menapii se omnes in densissimas silvas abdiderant, se ad Caesarem recep-
4 erunt. Caesar in Belgis omnium legionum hiberna constituit. Eo duae omnino civitates ex Britannia
5 obsides miserunt, reliquae neglexerunt. His rebus gestis ex literis Caesaris dierum viginti supplicatio a senatu decreta est.

C. IULI CAESARIS
DE BELLO GALLICO
COMMENTARIUS QUINTUS.

L. Domitio, Ap. Claudio consulibus discedens ab 1 B.C. 54
hibernis Caesar in Italiam, ut quotannis
facere consuerat legatis imperat, quos le-
C. orders a fleet of vessels to be built;
gionibus praefecerat, uti, quam plurimas possent, hieme
naves aedificandas veteresque reficiendas curarent.
Earum modum formamque demonstrat. Ad celeri- 2
tatem onerandi subductionesque paulo facit humili-
ores, quam quibus in nostro mari uti consuevimus,
atque id eo magis, quod propter crebras commutationes
aestuum minus magnos ibi fluctus fieri cognoverat; ad
onera ac multitudinem iumentorum transportandam
paulo latiores, quam quibus in reliquis utimur maribus.
Has omnes actuarias imperat fieri, quam ad rem humi- 3
litas multum adiuvat. Ea, quae sunt usui ad arman- 4
das naves, ex Hispania apportari iubet.
brings the Pirustae to their bearings;
Ipse conventibus Galliae citerioris per- 5
actis in Illyricum proficiscitur, quod a Pirustis finiti-
mam partem provinciae incursionibus vastari audiebat.
Eo cum venisset, civitatibus milites imperat certumque 6

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7 in locum convenire iubet. Qua re nuntiata Pirustae
legatos ad eum mittunt, qui doceant, nihil earum
rerum publico factum consilio, seseque paratos esse
demonstrant omnibus rationibus de iniuriis satisfacere.
8 Percepta oratione eorum Caesar obsides imperat eosque
ad certam diem adduci iubet; nisi ita fecerint, sese
9 bello civitatem persecuturum demonstrat. Iis ad diem
adductis, ut imperaverat, arbitros inter civitates dat,
qui litem aestiment poenamque constituant.

returns into hither Gaul;

2 His confectis rebus conventibusque peractis in citeriorem Galliam revertitur atque inde
2 ad exercitum proficiscitur. Eo cum venisset, circuitis omnibus hibernis singulari militum
studio in summa omnium rerum inopia circiter sexcentas eius generis, cuius supra demonstravimus, naves
et longas XXVIII invenit instructas, neque multum
3 abesse ab eo, quin paucis diebus deduci possint. Collaudatis militibus atque iis, qui negotio praefuerant,
quid fieri velit, ostendit atque omnes ad portum Itium
convenire iubet, quo ex portu commodissimum in Britanniam traiectum esse cognoverat, circiter milium
passuum XXX a continenti: huic rei quod satis esse

marches against the Treveri.

4 visum est militum, reliquit. Ipse cum
legionibus expeditis IIII et equitibus DCCC
in fines Treverorum proficiscitur, quod hi neque ad
concilia veniebant neque imperio parebant Germanosque Transrhenanos sollicitare dicebantur.

The tribe of the Treveri; the rival chiefs.

3 Haec civitas longe plurimum totius Galliae equitatu
valet magnasque habet copias peditum,
Rhenumque, ut supra demonstravimus,
2 tangit. In ea civitate duo de principatu inter se

contendebant, Indutiomarus et Cingetorix; e quibus 3 B.C. 54
alter, simul atque de Caesaris legionumque adventu cognitum est, ad eum venit, se suosque omnes in officio futuros neque ab amicitia populi Romani defecturos confirmavit, quaeque in Treveris gererentur, ostendit. At Indutiomarus equitatum peditatumque 4
cogere iisque, qui per aetatem in armis esse non poterant, in silvam Arduennam abditis, quae ingenti magnitudine per medios fines Treverorum a flumine Rheno ad initium Remorum pertinet, bellum parare instituit. Sed posteaquam nonnulli principes ex ea 5
civitate et familiaritate Cingetorigis adducti et adventu nostri exercitus perterriti ad Caesarem venerunt et de suis privatim rebus ab eo petere coeperunt, quoniam civitati consulere non possent, veritus, ne ab omnibus desereretur, [Indutiomarus] legatos ad Caesarem mittit: Sese idcirco ab suis discedere atque 6
ad eum venire noluisse, quo facilius civitatem in officio contineret, ne omnis nobilitatis discessu plebs propter imprudentiam laberetur: itaque esse civitatem in sua potestate, seseque, si Caesar permitteret, ad eum in castra venturum, suas civitatisque fortunas eius fidei permissurum.

Caesar, etsi intellegebat, qua de causa ea dice- 4
rentur quaeque eum res ab instituto con- *C.'s negotiations.*
silio deterreret, tamen, ne aestatem in Treveris consumere cogeretur omnibus ad Britannicum bellum rebus comparatis, Indutiomarum ad se cum CC obsidibus venire iussit. His adductis, in iis filio propin- 2
quisque eius omnibus, quos nominatim evocaverat, consolatus Indutiomarum hortatusque est, uti in

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3 officio maneret; nihilo tamen secius principibus Treverorum ad se convocatis hos singillatim Cingetorigi conciliavit, quod cum merito eius a se fieri intellegebat, tum magni interesse arbitrabatur, eius auctoritatem inter suos quam plurimum valere, cuius tam
4 egregiam in se voluntatem perspexisset. Id tulit factum graviter Indutiomarus, suam gratiam inter suos minui et, qui iam ante inimico in nos animo fuisset, multo gravius hoc dolore exarsit.

5 His rebus constitutis Caesar ad portum Itium cum
2 legionibus pervenit. Ibi cognoscit, LX naves, quae in Meldis factae erant, tempestate reiectas cursum tenere non potuisse atque eodem, unde erant profectae, revertisse; reliquas paratas ad navigandum atque omnibus rebus instruc-
3 tas invenit. Eodem equitatus totius Galliae convenit numero milium quattuor principesque ex omnibus
4 civitatibus; ex quibus perpaucos, quorum in se fidem perspexerat, relinquere in Gallia, reliquos obsidum loco secum ducere decreverat, quod, cum ipse abesset, motum Galliae verebatur.

C. arrives at portus Itius.

6 Erat una cum ceteris Dumnorix Aeduus, de quo ante ab nobis dictum est. Hunc secum habere in primis constituerat, quod eum cupidum rerum novarum, cupidum imperii, magni animi, mag-
2 nae inter Gallos auctoritatis cognoverat. Accedebat huc, quod in concilio Aeduorum Dumnorix dixerat, sibi a Caesare regnum civitatis deferri; quod dictum Aedui graviter ferebant, neque recusandi aut deprecandi causa legatos ad Caesarem mittere audebant.
3 Id factum ex suis hospitibus Caesar cognoverat. Ille

Dumnorix resists,

B.C. 54

omnibus primo precibus petere contendit, ut in Gallia
relinqueretur, partim quod insuetus navigandi mare
timeret, partim quod religionibus impediri sese di-
ceret. Posteaquam id obstinate sibi negari vidit, 4
omni spe impetrandi adempta, principes Galliae solli-
citare, sevocare singulos hortarique coepit, uti in
continenti remanerent; metu territare: non sine causa 5
fieri, ut Gallia omni nobilitate spoliaretur; id esse
consilium Caesaris, ut, quos in conspectu Galliae
interficere vereretur, hos omnes in Britanniam tra-
ductos necaret; fidem reliquis interponere, iusiurandum 6
poscere, ut, quod esse ex usu Galliae intellexissent,
communi consilio administrarent. Haec a compluri-
bus ad Caesarem deferebantur.

but is slain.

Qua re cognita Caesar, quod tantum civitati Aeduae 7
dignitatis tribuebat, coercendum atque
deterrendum, quibuscumque rebus posset, Dumnorigem
statuebat; quod longius eius amentiam progredi vid- 2
ebat, prospiciendum, ne quid sibi ac reipublicae nocere
posset. Itaque dies circiter XXV in eo loco commor- 3
atus, quod Corus ventus navigationem impediebat, qui
magnam partem omnis temporis in his locis flare con-
suevit, dabat operam, ut in officio Dumnorigem con-
tineret, nihilo tamen secius omnia eius consilia cog-
nosceret; tandem idoneam nactus tempestatem milites 4
equitesque conscendere in naves iubet. At omnium 5
impeditis animis Dumnorix cum equitibus Aeduorum
a castris insciente Caesare domum discedere coepit.
Qua re nuntiata, Caesar intermissa profectione atque 6
omnibus rebus postpositis magnam partem equitatus
ad eum insequendum mittit retrahique imperat; si 7

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vim faciat neque pareat, interfici iubet, nihil hunc
se absente pro sano facturum arbitratus, qui
8 praesentis imperium neglexisset. Ille enim revo-
catus resistere ac se manu defendere suorumque
fidem implorare coepit, saepe clamitans, liberum
9 se liberaeque esse civitatis. Illi, ut erat im-
peratum, circumsistunt hominem atque inter-
ficiunt; at equites Aedui ad Caesarem omnes
revertuntur.

The crossing.

8 His rebus gestis, Labieno in continente cum tribus
legionibus et equitum milibus duobus re-
licto, ut portus tueretur et rem frumentariam pro-
videret, quaeque in Gallia gererentur, cognosceret
2 consiliumque pro tempore et pro re caperet, ipse cum
quinque legionibus et pari numero equitum, quem in
continenti reliquerat, ad solis occasum naves solvit et
leni Africo provectus, media circiter nocte vento inter-
misso, cursum non tenuit et longius delatus aestu orta
3 luce sub sinistra Britanniam relictam conspexit. Tum
rursus aestus commutationem secutus remis contendit,
ut eam partem insulae caperet, qua optimum esse
4 egressum superiore aestate cognoverat. Qua in re
admodum fuit militum virtus laudanda, qui vectoriis
gravibusque navigiis non intermisso remigandi labore
5 longarum navium cursum adaequarunt. Accessum
est ad Britanniam omnibus navibus meridiano fere
6 tempore, neque in eo loco hostis est visus; sed, ut
postea Caesar ex captivis cognovit, cum magnae
manus eo convenissent, multitudine navium perter-
ritae, quae cum annotinis privatisque, quas sui quis-
que commodi fecerat, amplius octingentae uno erant

visae tempore, a litore discesserant ac se in superiora B.C. 54
loca abdiderant.

Stubborn resistance of the Britons.

9 Caesar exposito exercitu et loco castris idoneo capto, ubi ex captivis cognovit, quo in loco hostium copiae consedissent, cohortibus decem ad mare relictis et equitibus trecentis, qui praesidio navibus essent, de tertia vigilia ad hostes contendit, eo minus veritus navibus, quod in litore molli atque aperto deligatas ad ancoram relinquebat, et praesidio navibusque Quintum Atrium praefecit.
2 Ipse noctu progressus milia passuum circiter XII
3 hostium copias conspicatus est. Illi equitatu atque essedis ad flumen progressi ex loco superiore nostros prohibere et proelium committere coeperunt.
4 Repulsi ab equitatu se in silvas abdiderunt, locum nancti egregie et natura et opere munitum, quem domestici belli, ut videbantur, causa iam ante praeparaverant:
5 nam crebris arboribus succisis omnes introitus erant
6 praeclusi. Ipsi ex silvis rari propugnabant nostrosque
7 intra munitiones ingredi prohibebant. At milites legionis septimae testudine facta et aggere ad munitiones adiecto locum ceperunt eosque ex silvis expulerunt paucis vulneribus acceptis.
8 Sed eos fugientes longius Caesar prosequi vetuit, et quod loci naturam ignorabat, et quod, magna parte diei consumpta, munitioni castrorum tempus relinqui volebat.

The storm.

10 Postridie eius diei mane tripertito milites equitesque in expeditionem misit, ut eos, qui fugerant, persequerentur.
2 His aliquantum itineris progressis, cum iam extremi essent in prospectu, equites a Quinto Atrio ad Caesarem venerunt, qui nuntiarent,

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superiore nocte maxuma coorta tempestate prope
omnes naves afflictas atque in litore eiectas esse, quod
neque ancorae funesque subsisterent neque nautae
3 gubernatoresque vim tempestatis pati possent: itaque
ex eo concursu navium magnum esse incommodum
acceptum.

C. bids Lab. build new ships.

11 His rebus cognitis Caesar legiones equitatumque
revocari atque in itinere resistere iubet,
2 ipse ad naves revertitur; eadem fere, quae
ex nuntiis litterisque cognoverat, coram perspicit, sic ut
amissis circiter XL navibus reliquae tamen refici posse
3 magno negotio viderentur. Itaque ex legionibus
fabros deligit et ex continenti alios arcessi iubet;
4 Labieno scribit, ut, quam plurimas posset, iis legioni-
5 bus, quae sunt apud eum, naves instituat. Ipse, etsi
res erat multae operae ac laboris, tamen commodissi-
mum esse statuit, omnes naves subduci et cum castris
6 una munitione coniungi. In his rebus circiter dies x
consumit, ne nocturnis quidem temporibus ad laborem
7 militum intermissis. Subductis navibus castrisque
egregie munitis easdem copias, quas ante, praesidio
navibus reliquit, ipse eodem, unde redierat, proficis-
8 citur. Eo cum venisset, maiores iam undique in eum
locum copiae Britannorum convenerant summa imperii
bellique administrandi communi consilio
permissa Cassivellauno; cuius fines a maritimis civita-
tibus flumen dividit, quod appellatur Tamesis, a mari
9 circiter milia passuum LXXX. Huic superiore tem-
pore cum reliquis civitatibus continentia bella inter-
cesserant; sed nostro adventu permoti Britanni hunc
toti bello imperioque praefecerant.

Cassivellaunus.

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Customs of the Britons.

Britanniae pars interior ab iis incolitur, quos natos 12
in insula ipsi memoria proditum dicunt,
maritima pars ab iis, qui praedae ac belli 2
inferendi causa ex Belgio transierunt—qui omnes fere
iis nominibus civitatum appellantur, quibus orti ex
civitatibus eo pervenerunt—et bello illato ibi perman-
serunt atque agros colere coeperunt. Hominum est 3
infinita multitudo creberrimaque aedificia fere Gallicis
consimilia, pecorum magnus numerus. Utuntur [aut 4
aere] aut nummo aureo aut taleis ferreis ad certum
pondus examinatis pro nummo. Nascitur ibi plum- 5
bum album in mediterraneis regionibus, in maritimis
ferrum, sed eius exigua est copia; aere utuntur im-
portato. Materia cuiusque generis ut in Gallia est
praeter fagum atque abietem. Leporem et gallinam 6
et anserem gustare fas non putant; haec tamen alunt
animi voluptatisque causa. Loca sunt temperatiora
quam in Gallia, remissioribus frigoribus.

Nature and situation of the island.

Insula natura triquetra, cuius unum latus est contra 13
Galliam. Huius lateris alter angulus, qui
est ad Cantium, quo fere omnes ex Gallia
naves appelluntur, ad orientem solem, inferior ad
meridiem spectat. Hoc pertinet circiter milia pas- 2
suum quingenta. Alterum vergit ad Hispaniam atque
occidentem solem; qua ex parte est Hibernia dimidio
minor, ut aestimatur, quam Britannia, sed pari spatio
transmissus, atque ex Gallia est in Britanniam. In 3
hoc medio cursu est insula, quae appellatur Mona;
complures praeterea minores subiectae insulae existi-
mantur; de quibus insulis nonnulli scripserunt, dies
continuos triginta sub bruma esse noctem. Nos nihil 4

A.U.C. 700 de eo percontationibus reperiebamus, nisi certis ex
aqua mensuris breviores esse quam in continenti
5 noctes videbamus. Huius est longitudo lateris, ut
6 fert illorum opinio, septingentorum milium. Tertium
est contra septentriones; cui parti nulla est obiecta
terra, sed eius angulus lateris maxime ad Germaniam
spectat. Hoc milia passuum octingenta in longitu-
7 dinem esse existimatur. Ita omnis insula est in
circuitu vicies centum milium passuum.

14 Ex his omnibus longe sunt humanissimi, qui Can-
Customs of the Britons. tium incolunt, quae regio est maritima
omnis, neque multum a Gallica differunt
2 consuetudine. Interiores plerique frumenta non
serunt, sed lacte et carne vivunt pellibusque sunt
vestiti. Omnes vero se Britanni vitro inficiunt, quod
caeruleum efficit colorem, atque hoc horridiores sunt
3 in pugna aspectu; capilloque sunt promisso atque
omni parte corporis rasa praeter caput et labrum
4 superius. Uxores habent deni duodenique inter se
communes, et maxime fratres cum fratribus parent-
5 esque cum liberis; sed si qui sunt ex his nati, eorum
habentur liberi, quo primum virgo quaeque deducta
est.

15 Equites hostium essedariique acriter proelio cum
Fighting. equitatu nostro in itinere conflixerunt,
tamen ut nostri omnibus partibus superiores fuerint
2 atque eos in silvas collesque compulerint; sed com-
pluribus interfectis cupidius insecuti nonnullos ex suis
3 amiserunt. At illi intermisso spatio, imprudentibus
A surprise. nostris atque occupatis in munitione cas-
trorum, subito se ex silvis eiecerunt impetuque in eos

facto, qui erant in statione pro castris collocati, acriter B.C. 54
pugnaverunt, duabusque missis subsidio cohortibus a 4
Caesare, atque his primis legionum duarum, cum hae
perexiguo intermisso loci spatio inter se constitissent,
novo genere pugnae perterritis nostris per medios
audacissime perruperunt seque inde incolumes recepe-
runt. Eo die Quintus Laberius Durus tribunus mili- 5
tum interficitur. Illi pluribus submissis cohortibus
repelluntur.

The mode of fighting.

Toto hoc in genere pugnae, cum sub oculis omnium 16
ac pro castris dimicaretur, intellectum
est, nostros propter gravitatem armorum,
quod neque insequi cedentes possent neque ab signis
discedere auderent, minus aptos esse ad huius generis
hostem, equites autem magno cum periculo proelio 2
dimicare, propterea quod illi etiam consulto plerumque
cederent et, cum paulum ab legionibus nostros re-
movissent, ex essedis desilirent et pedibus dispari
proelio contenderent. Equestris autem proelii ratio 3
et cedentibus et insequentibus par atque idem peri-
culum inferebat. Accedebat huc, ut numquam conferti, 4
sed rari magnisque intervallis proeliarentur station-
esque dispositas haberent, atque alios alii deinceps
exciperent integrique et recentes defatigatis succed-
erent.

Fierce onset of the B.'s is repulsed.

Postero die procul a castris hostes in collibus con- 17
stiterunt rarique se ostendere et lenius
quam pridie nostros equites proelio laces-
sere coeperunt. Sed meridie, cum Caesar pabulandi 2
causa tres legiones atque omnem equitatum cum Gaio
Trebonio legato misisset, repente ex omnibus partibus

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ad pabulatores advolaverunt, sicubi ab signis legioni-
3 busque [non] absisterent. Nostri acriter in eos impetu facto reppulerunt neque finem sequendi fecerunt, quoad subsidio confisi equites, cum post se legiones
4 viderent, praecipites hostes egerunt, magnoque eorum numero interfecto neque sui colligendi neque consistendi aut ex essedis desiliendi facultatem dederunt.
5 Ex hac fuga protinus, quae undique convenerant, auxilia discesserunt, neque post id tempus umquam summis nobiscum copiis hostes contenderunt.

18 Caesar cognito consilio eorum ad flumen Tamesim in fines Cassivellauni exercitum duxit; quod flumen uno omnino loco pedibus,

C. marches to the Thames; a skirmish.

2 atque hoc aegre, transiri potest. Eo cum venisset, animum advertit, ad alteram fluminis ripam magnas
3 esse copias hostium instructas. Ripa autem erat acutis sudibus praefixis munita, eiusdemque generis
4 sub aqua defixae sudes flumine tegebantur. His rebus cognitis a captivis perfugisque Caesar praemisso
5 equitatu confestim legiones subsequi iussit. Sed ea celeritate atque eo impetu milites ierunt, cum capite solo ex aqua exstarent, ut hostes impetum legionum atque equitum sustinere non possent ripasque dimitterent ac se fugae mandarent.

19 Cassivellaunus, ut supra demonstravimus, omni deposita spe contentionis, dimissis amplioribus copiis, milibus circiter quattuor essedariorum relictis, itinera nostra servabat paulumque ex via excedebat locisque impeditis ac silvestribus sese occultabat atque iis regionibus, quibus nos iter facturos cognoverat, pecora

Tactics of Cassivellaunus.

atque homines ex agris in silvas compellebat et, cum 2 B.C. 54
equitatus noster liberius praedandi vastandique causa se in agros eiecerat, omnibus viis semitisque essedarios ex silvis emittebat et magno cum periculo nostrorum equitum cum iis confligebat atque hoc metu latius vagari prohibebat. Relinquebatur, ut neque longius 3
ab agmine legionum discedi Caesar pateretur et tantum in agris vastandis incentiisque faciendis hostibus noceretur, quantum labore atque itinere legionarii milites efficere poterant.

Embassy from the Trinobantes

Interim Trinobantes, prope firmissima earum regi- 20
onum civitas, ex qua Mandubracius adulescens Caesaris fidem secutus ad eum in continentem Galliam venerat, cuius pater in ea civitate regnum obtinuerat interfectusque erat a Cassivellauno, ipse fuga mortem vitaverat, legatos ad 2
Caesarem mittunt pollicenturque, sese ei dedituros atque imperata facturos; petunt, ut Mandubracium 3
ab iniuria Cassivellauni defendat atque in civitatem mittat, qui praesit imperiumque obtineat. His Caesar 4
imperat obsides quadraginta frumentumque exercitui Mandubraciumque ad eos mittit. Illi imperata celeriter fecerunt, obsides ad numerum frumentumque miserunt.

and other tribes.

Trinobantibus defensis atque ab omni militum 21
iniuria prohibitis, Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, Cassi legationibus missis sese Caesari dedunt. Ab his cognoscit, non 2
longe ex eo loco oppidum Cassivellauni abesse silvis paludibusque munitum, quo satis magnus hominum pecorisque numerus convenerit. Oppidum 3

The British 'towns.'

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autem Britanni vocant, cum silvas impeditas vallo atque fossa munierunt, quo incursionis hostium
4 vitandae causa convenire consuerunt. Eo proficiscitur cum legionibus: locum reperit egregie natura atque opere munitum; tamen hunc duabus ex partibus
5 oppugnare contendit. Hostes paulisper morati militum nostrorum impetum non tulerunt seseque alia ex
6 parte oppidi eiecerunt. Magnus ibi numerus pecoris repertus, multique in fuga sunt comprehensi atque interfecti.

After the failure of the four Kentish kings, Cassivellaunus treats of peace with C.

22 Dum haec in his locis geruntur, Cassivellaunus ad Cantium, quod esse ad mare supra demonstravimus, quibus regionibus quattuor reges praeerant, Cingetorix, Carvilius, Taximagulus, Segovax, nuntios mittit atque his imperat, uti coactis omnibus copiis castra navalia de
2 improviso adoriantur atque oppugnent. Ii cum ad castra venissent, nostri eruptione facta multis eorum interfectis, capto etiam nobili duce Lugotorige suos
3 incolumes reduxerunt. Cassivellaunus hoc proelio nuntiato tot detrimentis acceptis, vastatis finibus, maxime etiam permotus defectione civitatum, legatos per Atrebatem Commium de deditione ad Caesarem
4 mittit. Caesar, cum constituisset hiemare in continenti propter repentinos Galliae motus, neque multum aestatis superesset, atque id facile extrahi posse intellegeret, obsides imperat et quid in annos singulos vectigalis populo Romano Britannia penderet, con-
5 stituit; interdicit atque imperat Cassivellauno, ne Mandubracio neu Trinobantibus noceat.

23 Obsidibus acceptis exercitum reducit ad mare, naves

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C. on receiving hostages returns into Gaul.

invenit refectas. His deductis, quod et captivorum 2
magnum numerum habebat et nonnullae
tempestate deperierant naves, duobus
commeatibus exercitum reportare instituit. Ac sic 3
accidit, uti ex tanto navium numero tot navigationibus
neque hoc neque superiore anno ulla omnino navis,
quae milites portaret, desideraretur, at ex iis, quae 4
inanes ex continenti ad eum remitterentur, et prioris
commeatus expositis militibus et quas postea Labienus
faciendas curaverat numero LX, perpaucae locum
caperent, reliquae fere omnes reicerentur. Quas cum 5
aliquamdiu Caesar frustra exspectasset, ne anni tem-
pore a navigatione excluderetur, quod aequinoctium
suberat, necessario angustius milites collocavit ac,
summa tranquillitate consecuta, secunda inita cum 6
solvisset vigilia, prima luce terram attigit omnesque
incolumes naves perduxit.

He separates his garrisons.

Subductis navibus concilioque Gallorum Samaro- **24**
brivae peracto, quod eo anno frumentum
in Gallia propter siccitates angustius
provenerat, coactus est aliter ac superioribus annis
exercitum in hibernis collocare legionesque in plures
civitates distribuere. Ex quibus unam in Morinos 2
ducendam Gaio Fabio legato dedit, alteram in Nervios
Quinto Ciceroni, tertiam in Esubios Lucio Roscio;
quartam in Remis cum Tito Labieno in confinio
Treverorum hiemare iussit; tres in Bellovacis collo- 3
cavit; his Marcum Crassum quaestorem et Lucium
Munatium Plancum et Gaium Trebonium legatos
praefecit. Unam legionum, quam proxime trans 4
Padum conscripserat, et cohortes v in Eburones,

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quorum pars maxima est inter Mosam ac Rhenum,
qui sub imperio Ambiorigis et Catuvolci erant, misit.
5 His militibus Quintum Titurium Sabinum et Lucium
6 Aurunculeium Cottam legatos praeesse iussit. Ad
hunc modum distributis legionibus facillime inopiae
7 frumentariae sese mederi posse existimavit. Atque
harum tamen omnium legionum hiberna, praeter eam,
quam Lucio Roscio in pacatissimam et quietissimam
partem ducendam dederat, milibus passuum centum
8 continebantur. Ipse interea, quoad legiones collocatas
munitaque hiberna cognovisset, in Gallia morari constituit.

Murder of Tasgetius.

25 Erat in Carnutibus summo loco natus Tasgetius,
cuius maiores in sua civitate regnum
2 obtinuerant. Huic Caesar pro eius virtute atque in se benevolentia, quod in omnibus bellis
singulari eius opera fuerat usus, maiorum locum
3 restituerat. Tertium iam hunc annum regnantem
inimici multis palam ex civitate auctoribus inter-
4 fecerunt. Defertur ea res ad Caesarem. Ille veritus,
quod ad plures pertinebat, ne civitas eorum impulsu
deficeret, Lucium Plancum cum legione ex Belgio
celeriter in Carnutes proficisci iubet ibique hiemare,
quorumque opera cognoverat Tasgetium interfectum,
5 hos comprehensos ad se mittere. Interim ab omnibus
[legatis quaestoribusque], quibus legiones tradiderat,
certior factus est, in hiberna perventum locumque
[hibernis] esse munitum.

Revolt of Ambiorix and Catuvolcus.

26 Diebus circiter XV, quibus in hiberna ventum est,
initium repentini tumultus ac defectionis
ortum est ab Ambiorige et Catuvolco;

qui, cum ad fines regni sui Sabino Cottaeque praesto 2 B.C. 54
fuissent frumentumque in hiberna comportavissent, Indutiomari Treveri nuntiis impulsi suos concitaverunt subitoque oppressis lignatoribus magna manu ad castra oppugnatum venerunt. Cum celeriter 3
nostri arma cepissent vallumque adscendissent atque una ex parte Hispanis equitibus emissis equestri proelio superiores fuissent, desperata re hostes suos ab oppugnatione reduxerunt. Tum suo more con- 4
clamaverunt, uti aliqui ex nostris ad colloquium prodirent: habere sese, quae de re communi dicere vellent, quibus rebus controversias minui posse sperarent.

Mittitur ad eos colloquendi causa Gaius Arpineius 27
eques Romanus, familiaris Quinti Titurii, *Negotiations.*
et Quintus Iunius ex Hispania quidam, qui iam ante missu Caesaris ad Ambiorigem ventitare consuerat; apud quos Ambiorix ad hunc modum locutus est: Sese pro Caesaris in se beneficiis plurimum ei con- 2
fiteri debere, quod eius opera stipendio liberatus esset, quod Aduatucis, finitimis suis, pendere consuesset, quodque ei et filius et fratris filius ab Caesare remissi essent, quos Aduatuci, obsidum numero missos apud se in servitute et catenis tenuissent; neque id, quod fecerit de oppugnatione castrorum, 3
aut iudicio aut voluntate sua fecisse, sed coactu civitatis, suaque esse eiusmodi imperia, ut non minus haberet iuris in se multitudo, quam ipse in multitudinem. Civitati porro hanc fuisse belli causam, 4
quod repentinae Gallorum coniurationi resistere non potuerit. Id se facile ex humilitate sua probare

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posse, quod non adeo sit imperitus rerum, ut suis
copiis populum Romanum superari posse confidat.
5 Sed esse Galliae commune consilium: omnibus hiber-
nis Caesaris oppugnandis hunc esse dictum diem, ne
6 qua legio alterae legioni subsidio venire posset. Non
facile Gallos Gallis negare potuisse, praesertim cum
de recuperanda communi libertate consilium initum
7 videretur. Quibus quoniam pro pietate satisfecerit,
habere nunc se rationem officii pro beneficiis Caesaris:
monere, orare Titurium pro hospitio, ut suae ac
8 militum saluti consulat. Magnam manum German-
orum conductam Rhenum transisse; hanc affore bi-
9 duo. Ipsorum esse consilium, velintne prius, quam
finitimi sentiant, eductos ex hibernis milites aut ad
Ciceronem aut ad Labienum deducere, quorum alter
milia passuum circiter quinquaginta, alter paulo am-
10 plius ab iis absit. Illud se polliceri et iureiurando
11 confirmare, tutum iter per fines daturum. Quod cum
faciat, et civitati sese consulere, quod hibernis levetur,
et Caesari pro eius meritis gratiam referre. Hac
oratione habita discedit Ambiorix.

CC. 28-30—DISPUTE BETWEEN TITURIUS AND COTTA.

Sensation in R. camp.

28 Arpineius et Iunius, quae audierunt, ad legatos
deferunt. Illi repentina re perturbati,
etsi ab hoste ea dicebantur, tamen non
neglegenda existimabant, maximeque hac re permove-
bantur, quod civitatem ignobilem atque humilem
Eburonum sua sponte populo Romano bellum facere
2 ausam vix erat credendum. Itaque ad consilium

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Views of one party.

rem deferunt, magnaque inter eos existit controversia.
Lucius Aurunculeius compluresque tri- 3
buni militum et primorum ordinum cen-
turiones nihil temere agendum neque ex hibernis
iniussu Caesaris discedendum existimabant; quan- 4
tasvis copias etiam Germanorum sustineri posse
munitis hibernis docebant: rem esse testimonio, quod
primum hostium impetum multis ultro vulneribus
illatis fortissime sustinuerint; re frumentaria non 5
premi; interea et ex proximis hibernis et a Caesare
conventura subsidia; postremo quid esse levius aut 6
turpius, quam auctore hoste de summis rebus capere
consilium.

T. urges a hasty retreat,

Contra ea Titurius sero facturos clamitabat, cum 29
maiores manus hostium adiunctis Ger-
manis convenissent, aut cum aliquid
calamitatis in proximis hibernis esset acceptum.
Brevem consulendi esse occasionem. Caesarem arbi- 2
trari profectum in Italiam; neque aliter Carnutes
interficiendi Tasgetii consilium fuisse capturos, neque
Eburones, si ille adesset, tanta contemptione nostri
ad castra venturos esse. Non hostem auctorem, sed 3
rem spectare: subesse Rhenum; magno esse Germanis
dolori Ariovisti mortem et superiores nostras vic-
torias; ardere Galliam tot contumeliis acceptis sub 4
populi Romani imperium redactam, superiore gloria
rei militaris exstincta. Postremo quis hoc sibi 5
persuaderet, sine certa re Ambiorigem ad eiusmodi
consilium descendisse? Suam sententiam in utramque 6
partem esse tutam: si nihil esset durius, nullo cum
periculo ad proximam legionem perventuros; si

A.U.C. 700 Gallia omnis cum Germanis consentiret, unam esse
7 in celeritate positam salutem. Cottae quidem atque eorum, qui dissentirent, consilium quem habere exitum? in quo si non praesens periculum, at certe longinqua obsidione fames esset timenda.

30 Hac in utramque partem disputatione habita, cum

his closing words. a Cotta primisque ordinibus acriter resisteretur, "Vincite," inquit, "si ita vultis," Sabinus, et id clariore voce, ut magna pars militum exaudiret;
2 "neque is sum," inquit, "qui gravissime ex vobis mortis periculo terrear; hi sapient; si gravius quid
3 acciderit, abs te rationem reposcent; qui, si per te liceat, perendino die cum proximis hibernis coniuncti communem cum reliquis belli casum sustineat, non reiecti et relegati longe ab ceteris aut ferro aut fame intereant."

31 Consurgitur ex consilio; comprehendunt utrumque

He prevails, and the R.'s set out. et orant, ne sua dissensione et pertinacia rem in summum periculum deducant:
2 facilem esse rem, seu maneant, seu proficiscantur, si modo unum omnes sentiant ac probent; contra in
3 dissensione nullam se salutem perspicere. Res disputatione ad mediam noctem perducitur. Tandem dat Cotta permotus manus; superat sententia Sabini.
4 Pronuntiatur, prima luce ituros. Consumitur vigiliis reliqua pars noctis, cum sua quisque miles circumspiceret, quid secum portare posset, quid ex instru-
5 mento hibernorum relinquere cogeretur. Omnia excogitantur, quare nec sine periculo maneatur et languore militum et vigiliis periculum augeatur.
6 Prima luce sic ex castris proficiscuntur, ut quibus

esset persuasum, non ab hoste, sed ab homine ami- B.C. 54
cissimo [Ambiorige] consilium datum, longissimo
agmine maximisque impedimentis.

At hostes, posteaquam ex nocturno fremitu vigi- 32
liisque de profectione eorum senserunt,
collocatis insidiis bipertito in silvis op-
portuno atque occulto loco a milibus passuum circiter
duobus Romanorum adventum exspectabant, et cum 2
se maior pars agminis in magnam convallem de-
misisset, ex utraque parte eius vallis subito se osten-
derunt novissimosque premere et primos prohibere
ascensu atque iniquissimo nostris loco proelium com-
mittere coeperunt.

Sudden attack of the enemy.

Tum demum Titurius, qui nihil ante providisset, 33
trepidare et concursare cohortesque dis-
ponere, haec tamen ipsa timide atque ut
eum omnia deficere viderentur; quod plerumque iis
accidere consuevit, qui in ipso negotio consilium
capere coguntur. At Cotta, qui cogitasset, haec 2
posse in itinere accidere, atque ob eam causam pro-
fectionis auctor non fuisset, nulla in re communi
saluti deerat: et in appellandis cohortandisque mili-
tibus imperatoris et in pugna militis officia praestabat.
Cum propter longitudinem agminis minus facile omnia 3
per se obire et, quid quoque loco faciendum esset,
providere possent, iusserunt pronuntiare, ut impedi-
menta relinquerent atque in orbem consisterent.
Quod consilium etsi in eiusmodi casu reprehendendum 4
non est, tamen incommode accidit: nam et nostris 5
militibus spem minuit et hostes ad pugnam alacriores
effecit, quod non sine summo timore et desperatione

Confusion of T., valour of Cotta.

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6 id factum videbatur. Praeterea accidit, quod fieri
necesse erat, ut vulgo milites ab signis discederent,
quaeque quisque eorum carissima haberet, ab impedi-
mentis petere atque arripere properaret, clamore et
fletu omnia complerentur.

Tactics of the enemy.

34 At barbaris consilium non defuit. Nam duces
eorum tota acie pronuntiare iusserunt,
ne quis ab loco discederet: illorum esse
praedam atque illis reservari, quaecumque Romani
reliquissent: proinde omnia in victoria posita existi-
2 marent. Erant et virtute et studio pugnandi pares
nostri; tametsi ab duce et a fortuna deserebantur,
tamen omnem spem salutis in virtute ponebant, et
quotiens quaeque cohors procurrerat, ab ea parte
3 magnus numerus hostium cadebat. Qua re animad-
versa Ambiorix pronuntiari iubet, ut procul tela
coniciant neu propius accedant et, quam in partem
4 Romani impetum fecerint, cedant: (levitate armorum
et cotidiana exercitatione nihil iis noceri posse);
rursus se ad signa recipientes insequantur.

Valour and difficulties of R.'s.

35 Quo praecepto ab iis diligentissime observato, cum
quaepiam cohors ex orbe excesserat atque
impetum fecerat, hostes velocissime re-
2 fugiebant. Interim eàm partem nudari necesse erat
3 et ab latere aperto tela recipi. Rursus, cum in eum
locum, unde erant egressi, reverti coeperant, et ab iis,
qui cesserant, et ab iis, qui proximi steterant, circum-
4 veniebantur; sin autem locum tenere vellent, nec
virtuti locus relinquebatur, neque ab tanta multi-
5 tudine coniecta tela conferti vitare poterant. Tamen
tot incommodis conflictati, multis vulneribus acceptis

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resistebant et magna parte diei consumpta, cum a prima luce ad horam octavam pugnaretur, nihil, quod ipsis esset indignum, committebant. Tum Tito Bal- 6
ventio, qui superiore anno primum pilum duxerat, viro forti et magnae auctoritatis, utrumque femur tragula traicitur; Quintus Lucanius, eiusdem ordinis, 7
fortissime pugnans, dum circumvento filio subvenit, interficitur; Lucius Cotta legatus omnes cohortes or- 8
dinesque adhortans in adversum os funda vulneratur.

T. tries to make terms with A.

His rebus permotus Quintus Titurius, cum procul 36
Ambiorigem suos cohortantem conspexisset, interpretem suum Gneum Pompeium ad eum mittit rogatum, ut sibi militibusque parcat. Ille appellatus respondit: Si velit secum 2
colloqui, licere; sperare, a multitudine impetrari posse, quod ad militum salutem pertineat; ipsi vero nihil nocitum iri, inque eam rem se suam fidem interponere. Ille cum Cotta saucio communicat, si 3
videatur, pugna ut excedant et cum Ambiorige una colloquantur: sperare, ab eo de sua ac militum salute impetrari posse. Cotta se ad armatum hostem iturum 4
negat atque in eo perseverat.

Treachery of A., utter route of R.'s.

Sabinus, quos in praesentia tribunos militum cir- 37
cum se habebat, et primorum ordinum centuriones se sequi iubet et, cum propius Ambiorigem accessisset, iussus arma abicere imperatum facit suisque, ut idem faciant, imperat. Interim, 2
dum de condicionibus inter se agunt longiorque consulto ab Ambiorige instituitur sermo, paulatim circumventus interficitur. Tum vero suo more victoriam 3
conclamant atque ululatum tollunt impetuque in nostros

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4 facto ordines perturbant. Ibi Lucius Cotta pugnans interficitur cum maxima parte militum. Reliqui se
5 in castra recipiunt, unde erant egressi. Ex quibus Lucius Petrosidius aquilifer, cum magna multitudine hostium premeretur, aquilam intra vallum proiecit,
6 ipse pro castris fortissime pugnans occiditur. Illi aegre ad noctem oppugnationem sustinent; noctu ad unum omnes desperata salute se ipsi interficiunt.
7 Pauci ex proelio elapsi incertis itineribus per silvas ad Titum Labienum legatum in hiberna perveniunt atque eum de rebus gestis certiorem faciunt.

A. resolves to attack Cicero.

38 Hac victoria sublatus Ambiorix statim cum equitatu in Aduatucos, qui erant eius regno finitimi, proficiscitur; neque noctem neque diem intermittit peditatumque sese subsequi iubet.
2 Re demonstrata Aduatucisque concitatis, postero die in Nervios pervenit hortaturque, ne sui in perpetuum liberandi atque ulciscendi Romanos pro iis, quas
3 acceperint, iniuriis occasionem dimittant: interfectos esse legatos duos magnamque partem exercitus in-
4 terisse demonstrat; nihil esse negotii, subito oppressam legionem, quae cum Cicerone hiemet, interfici: se ad eam rem profitetur adiutorem. Facile hac oratione Nerviis persuadet.

and collects forces.

39 Itaque confestim dimissis nuntiis ad Ceutrones, Grudios, Levacos, Pleumoxios, Geidumnos, qui omnes sub eorum imperio sunt, quam maximas
2 manus possunt cogunt et de improviso ad Ciceronis hiberna advolant, nondum ad eum fama de Titurii morte perlata. Huic quoque accidit, quod fuit necesse, ut nonnulli milites, qui lignationis munitionisque

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causa in silvas discessissent, repentino equitum adventu
interciperentur. His circumventis, magna manu Ebu- 3
rones, Nervii, Aduatuci atque horum omnium socii et
clientes legionem oppugnare incipiunt. Nostri celeriter
ad arma concurrunt, vallum conscendunt. Aegre is 4
dies sustentatur, quod omnem spem hostes in celeri-
tate ponebant atque hanc adepti victoriam in per-
petuum se fore victores confidebant.

Cic. sends word to C. and prepares for an attack.

Mittuntur ad Caesarem confestim ab Cicerone **40**
litterae, magnis propositis praemiis, si
pertulissent; obsessis omnibus viis missi
intercipiuntur. Noctu ex materia, quam munitionis 2
causa comportaverant, turres admodum CXX exci-
tantur incredibili celeritate; quae deesse operi vide-
bantur, perficiuntur. Hostes postero die multo 3
maioribus coactis copiis castra oppugnant, fossam
complent. Eadem ratione, quae pridie, ab nostris 4
resistitur. Hoc idem reliquis deinceps fit diebus.
Nulla pars nocturni temporis ad laborem intermit- 5
titur; non aegris, non vulneratis facultas quietis
datur. Quaecumque ad proximi diei oppugnationem 6
opus sunt, noctu comparantur; multae praeustae
sudes, magnus muralium pilorum numerus instituitur;
turres contabulantur, pinnae loricaeque ex cratibus
attexuntur. Ipse Cicero, cum tenuissima valetudine 7
esset, ne nocturnum quidem sibi tempus ad quietem
relinquebat, ut ultro militum concursu ac vocibus
sibi parcere cogeretur.

The N. parley with Cic.,

Tunc duces principesque Nerviorum, qui aliquem **41**
sermonis aditum causamque amicitiae
cum Cicerone habebant, colloqui sese

A.U.C. 700 2 velle dicunt. Facta potestate, eadem, quae Ambiorix cum Titurio egerat, commemorant: omnem esse in
3 armis Galliam; Germanos Rhenum transisse; Caesaris
4 reliquorumque hiberna oppugnari. Addunt etiam de Sabini morte; Ambiorigem ostentant fidei faciundae
5 causa. Errare eos dicunt, si quicquam ab his praesidii sperent, qui suis rebus diffidant; sese tamen hoc esse in Ciceronem populumque Romanum animo, ut nihil nisi hiberna recusent atque hanc inveterascere con-
6 suetudinem nolint; licere illis incolumibus per se ex hibernis discedere et, quascumque in partes velint,
7 sine metu proficisci. Cicero ad haec unum modo respondit: non esse consuetudinem populi Romani,
8 accipere ab hoste armato condicionem: si ab armis discedere velint, se adiutore utantur legatosque ad Caesarem mittant; sperare pro eius iustitia, quae petierint, impetraturos.

42 Ab hac spe repulsi Nervii vallo pedum IX et fossa
2 *then surround the camp with rampart and trench.* pedum XV hiberna cingunt. Haec et superiorum annorum consuetudine ab nobis cognoverant et, quos de ex-
3 ercitu habebant captivos, ab his docebantur; sed nulla ferramentorum copia, quae esset ad hunc usum idonea, gladiis cespites circumcidere, manibus sagu-
4 lisque terram exhaurire nitebantur. Qua quidem
5 ex re hominum multitudo cognosci potuit: nam minus horis tribus milium passuum XV in circuitu munitionem perfecerunt, reliquisque diebus turres ad altitudinem valli, falces testudinesque, quas idem captivi docuerant, parare ac facere coeperunt.

Fierce onset and repulse of the enemy.

Septimo oppugnationis die maximo coorto vento 43 B.C. 54
ferventes fusili ex argilla glandes fundis
et fervefacta iacula in casas, quae more
Gallico stramentis erant tectae, iacere coeperunt.
Hae celeriter ignem comprehenderunt et venti mag- 2
nitudine in omnem locum castrorum distulerunt.
Hostes maximo clamore sicuti parta iam atque 3
explorata victoria, turres testudinesque agere et scalis
vallum ascendere coeperunt. At tanta militum virtus 4
atque ea praesentia animi fuit, ut, cum undique
flamma torrerentur maximaque telorum multitudine
premerentur suaque omnia impedimenta atque omnes
fortunas conflagrare intellegerent, non modo demi-
grandi causa de vallo decederet nemo, sed paene ne
respiceret quidem quisquam, ac tum omnes acerrime
fortissimeque pugnarent. Hic dies nostris longe 5
gravissimus fuit; sed tamen hunc habuit eventum,
ut eo die maximus numerus hostium vulneraretur
atque interficeretur, ut se sub ipso vallo constipav-
erant recessumque primis ultimi non dabant. Paulum 6
quidem intermissa flamma et quodam loco turri
adacta et contingente vallum, tertiae cohortis cen-
turiones ex eo, quo stabant, loco recesserunt suosque
omnes removerunt, nutu vocibusque hostes, si introire
vellent, vocare coeperunt; quorum progredi ausus est
nemo. Tum ex omni parte lapidibus coniectis detur- 7
bati, turrisque succensa est.

Bravery of Pulio and Vorenus.

Erant in ea legione fortissimi viri, centuriones, qui 44
primis ordinibus appropinquarent, Titus
Pulio et Lucius Vorenus. Hi perpetuas 2
inter se controversias habebant, quinam anteferretur,

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omnibusque annis de locis summis simultatibus con-
3 tendebant. Ex his Pulio cum acerrime ad munitiones
pugnaretur, "Quid dubitas," inquit, "Vorene? aut quem
locum tuae probandae virtutis exspectas? hic dies de
4 nostris controversiis iudicabit." Haec cum dixisset,
procedit extra munitiones, quaeque pars hostium con-
5 fertissima est visa, irrumpit. Ne Vorenus quidem sese
vallo continet, sed omnium veritus existimationem
6 subsequitur. Tum mediocri spatio relicto Pulio pilum
in hostes immittit atque unum ex multitudine pro-
currentem traicit; quo percusso et exanimato, hunc
scutis protegunt, in hostem tela universi coniciunt
7 neque dant regrediendi facultatem. Transfigitur
scutum Pulioni et verutum in balteo defigitur.
8 Avertit hic casus vaginam et gladium educere conanti
dextram moratur manum, impeditumque hostes cir-
9 cumsistunt. Succurrit inimicus illi Vorenus et la-
10 boranti subvenit. Ad hunc se confestim a Pulione
omnis multitudo convertit; illum veruto arbitrantur
11 occisum. Gladio comminus rem gerit Vorenus atque
12 uno interfecto reliquos paulum propellit; dum cu-
pidius instat, in locum delatus inferiorem concidit.
13 Huic rursus circumvento fert subsidium Pulio, atque
ambo incolumes compluribus interfectis summa cum
14 laude sese intra munitiones recipiunt. Sic fortuna in
contentione et certamine utrumque versavit, ut alter
alteri inimicus auxilio salutique esset, neque diiudicari
posset, uter utri virtute anteferendus videretur.

45 Quanto erat in dies gravior atque asperior oppug-
A letter reaches C. natio, et maxime quod magna parte mili-
tum confecta vulneribus res ad paucitatem defensorum

B.C. 54

pervenerat, tanto crebriores litterae nuntiique ad Caesarem mittebantur; quorum pars deprehensa in conspectu nostrorum militum cum cruciatu necabatur.
Erat unus intus Nervius nomine Vertico, loco natus 2
honesto, qui a prima obsidione ad Ciceronem perfugerat summamque ei fidem praestiterat. Hic servo 3
spe libertatis magnisque persuadet praemiis, ut litteras ad Caesarem deferat. Has ille in iaculo illigatas 4
effert et Gallus inter Gallos sine ulla suspicione versatus ad Caesarem pervenit. Ab eo de periculis 5
Ciceronis legionisque cognoscitur.

Caesar acceptis litteris hora circiter undecima diei 46
statim nuntium in Bellovacos ad M. Crassum quaestorem mittit, cuius hiberna aberant ab eo milia passuum XXV; iubet media nocte 2
legionem proficisci celeriterque ad se venire. Exit 3
cum nuntio Crassus. Alterum ad Gaium Fabium legatum mittit, ut in Atrebatum fines legionem adducat, qua sibi scit iter faciendum. Scribit Labieno, 4
si reipublicae commodo facere posset, cum legione ad fines Nerviorum veniat. Reliquam partem exercitus, quod paulo aberat longius, non putat exspectandam: equites circiter quadringentos ex proximis hibernis colligit.

who, after bidding the legati join him,

Hora circiter tertia ab antecursoribus de Crassi 47
adventu certior factus, eo die milia passuum XX procedit. Crassum Samarobrivae praeficit legionemque attribuit, quod ibi impedimenta exercitus, obsides civitatum, litteras publicas frumentumque omne, quod eo tolerandae hiemis causa devexerat, relinquebat. Fabius, ut imperatum 3

hastens to the rescue. 2

A.U.C. 700 erat, non ita multum moratus, in itinere cum legione

4 *Lab. cannot join him.* occurrit. Labienus, interitu Sabini et caede cohortium cognita, cum omnes ad eum Treverorum copiae venissent, veritus ne, si ex hibernis fugae similem profectionem fecisset, hostium impetum sustinere non posset, praesertim quos recenti
5 victoria efferri sciret, litteras Caesari remittit, quanto cum periculo legionem ex hibernis educturus esset, rem gestam in Eburonibus perscribit, docet, omnes equitatus peditatusque copias Treverorum tria milia passuum longe ab suis castris consedisse.

48 Caesar consilio eius probato, etsi opinione trium

His forced march, he conveys a letter to Cic. legionum deiectus ad duas redierat, tamen unum communis salutis auxilium in ce-
2 leritate ponebat. Venit magnis itineribus in Nerviorum fines. Ibi ex captivis cognoscit quae apud Ciceronem gerantur quantoque in periculo res sit.
3 Tum cuidam ex equitibus Gallis magnis praemiis
4 persuadet, uti ad Ciceronem epistolam deferat. Hanc Graecis conscriptam litteris mittit, ne intercepta
5 epistola nostra ab hostibus consilia cognoscantur. Si adire non possit, monet, ut tragulam cum epistola ad amentum deligata intra munitionem castrorum abiciat.
6 In litteris scribit, se cum legionibus profectum celeriter affore; hortatur, ut pristinam virtutem retineat.
7 Gallus periculum veritus, ut erat praeceptum, tragulam
8 mittit. Haec casu ad turrim adhaesit neque ab nostris biduo animadversa tertio die a quodam milite
9 conspicitur, dempta ad Ciceronem defertur. Ille perlectam in conventu militum recitat maximaque
10 omnes laetitia afficit. Tum fumi incendiorum procul

videbantur, quae res omnem dubitationem adventus B.C. 54
legionum expulit.

Galli re cognita per exploratores obsidionem relin- **49**
quunt, ad Caesarem omnibus copiis con-
tendunt. Haec erant armata circiter 2
milia LX. Cicero data facultate Gallum ab eodem 3
Verticone, quem supra demonstravimus, repetit, qui
litteras ad Caesarem deferat; hunc admonet, iter
caute diligenterque faciat; perscribit in litteris, hostes
ab se discessisse omnemque ad eum multitudinem
convertisse. Quibus litteris circiter media nocte 4
Caesar allatis suos facit certiores eosque ad dimican-
dum animo confirmat. Postero die luce prima movet 5
castra et circiter milia passuum quattuor progressus
trans vallem et rivum multitudinem hostium con-
spicatur. Erat magni periculi res, tantulis copiis 6
iniquo loco dimicare; tum, quoniam obsidione liber-
atum Ciceronem sciebat, aequo animo remittendum
de celeritate existimabat. Consedit et, quam aequis- 7
simo loco potest, castra communit atque haec, etsi
erant exigua per se, vix hominum milium septem,
praesertim nullis cum impedimentis, tamen angustiis
viarum, quam maxime potest, contrahit eo consilio,
ut in summam contemptionem hostibus veniat. In- 8
terim speculatoribus in omnes partes dimissis explorat,
quo commodissime itinere valles transiri possit.

He is met by the Gauls.

Eo die parvulis equestribus proeliis ad aquam factis **50**
utrique sese suo loco continent, Galli, 2
quod ampliores copias, quae nondum
convenerant, exspectabant, Caesar, si forte timoris 3
simulatione hostes in suum locum elicere posset,

Success of C.'s efforts to provoke an attack.

A.U.C. 700

ut citra vallem pro castris proelio contenderet; si
id efficere non posset, ut exploratis itineribus minore
4 cum periculo vallem rivumque transiret. Prima
luce hostium equitatus ad castra accedit proeliumque
5 cum nostris equitibus committit. Caesar consulto
equites cedere seque in castra recipere iubet; simul
ex omnibus partibus castra altiore vallo muniri portasque obstrui atque in his administrandis rebus quam
maxime concursari et cum simultatione agi timoris
iubet.

51 Quibus omnibus rebus hostes invitati copias tra-
2 ducunt aciemque iniquo loco constituunt, nostris vero
etiam de vallo deductis, propius accedunt et tela intra
munitionem ex omnibus partibus coniciunt praeconi-
3 busque circummissis pronuntiari iubent, seu quis
Gallus seu Romanus velit ante horam tertiam ad se
transire, sine periculo licere; post id tempus non fore
4 potestatem; ac sic nostros contempserunt, ut, ob-
structis in speciem portis, singulis ordinibus cespitum,
quod ea non posse introrumpere videbantur, alii
vallum manu scindere, alii fossas complere inciperent.
5 Tum Caesar omnibus portis eruptione facta equita-
tuque emisso celeriter hostes in fugam dat, sic uti
omnino pugnandi causa resisteret nemo, magnumque
ex eis numerum occidit atque omnes armis exuit.

52 Longius prosequi veritus, quod silvae paludesque

C. joins Cic.

intercedebant neque etiam parvulo detrimento illorum locum relinqui videbat, omnibus suis
incolumibus copiis eodem die ad Ciceronem pervenit.
2 Institutas turres, testudines munitionesque hostium
admiratur; legione producta cognoscit, non decimum

quemque esse reliquum militem sine vulnere: ex his omnibus iudicat rebus, quanto cum periculo et quanta cum virtute res sint administratae. 3 B.C. 54
Ciceronem pro eius merito legionemque collaudat; centuriones singillatim tribunosque militum appellat, quorum egregiam fuisse virtutem testimonio Ciceronis cognoverat. De casu Sabini et Cottae certius ex captivis cognoscit. 4
Postero die contione habita rem gestam proponit, 5
milites consolatur et confirmat: quod detrimentum culpa et temeritate legati sit acceptum, hoc aequiore animo ferundum docet, quod, beneficio deorum immortalium et virtute eorum expiato incommodo, neque hostibus diutina laetatio neque ipsis longior dolor relinquatur. 6

53 Interim ad Labienum per Remos incredibili celeritate de victoria Caesaris fama perfertur, ut, cum ab hibernis Ciceronis milia passuum abesset circiter LX, eoque post horam nonam diei Caesar pervenisset, ante mediam noctem ad portas castrorum clamor oreretur, quo clamore significatio victoriae gratulatioque ab Remis Labieno fieret.

Spread and effect of the news.

Hac fama ad Treveros perlata, Indutiomarus, qui postero die castra Labieni oppugnare decreverat, noctu profugit copiasque omnes in Treveros reducit. 2
Caesar Fabium cum sua legione remittit in hiberna, ipse cum tribus legionibus circum Samarobrivam trinis hibernis hiemare constituit et, quod tanti motus Galliae exstiterant, totam hiemem ipse ad exercitum manere decrevit. 3
Nam illo incommodo de Sabini morte perlato omnes fere Galliae civitates de bello consultabant, 4

Uneasy state of Gaul.

A.U.C. 700

nuntios legationesque in omnes partes dimittebant
et, quid reliqui consilii caperent atque unde initium
belli fieret, explorabant nocturnaque in locis desertis
5 concilia habebant. Neque ullum fere totius hiemis
tempus sine sollicitudine Caesaris intercessit, quin
aliquem de consiliis ac motu Gallorum nuntium
6 acciperet. In his ab Lucio Roscio, quem legioni
tertiaedecimae praefecerat, certior factus est, magnas
Gallorum copias earum civitatum, quae Aremoricae
appellantur, oppugnandi sui causa convenisse neque
longius milia passuum octo ab hibernis suis afuisse,
sed nuntio allato de victoria Caesaris discessisse, adeo
ut fugae similis discessus videretur.

54 At Caesar principibus cuiusque civitatis ad se
evocatis alias territando, cum se scire, quae fierent,
denuntiaret, alias cohortando magnam partem Galliae
2 *The Senones.* in officio tenuit. Tamen Senones, quae
est civitas imprimis firma et magnae inter Gallos
auctoritatis, Cavarinum, quem Caesar apud eos regem
constituerat, cuius maiores regnum obtinuerant, inter-
ficere publico consilio conati, cum ille praesensisset
ac profugisset, usque ad fines insecuti regno domoque
3 expulerunt et, missis ad Caesarem satisfaciendi causa
legatis, cum is omnem ad se senatum venire iussis-
4 set, dicto audientes non fuerunt. Tantum apud
homines barbaros valuit, esse aliquos repertos prin-
cipes inferendi belli, tantamque omnibus voluntatum
commutationem attulit, ut praeter Aeduos et Remos,
quos praecipuo semper honore Caesar habuit, alteros
pro vetere ac perpetua erga populum Romanum fide,
alteros pro recentibus Gallici belli officiis, nulla fere

B.C. 54

civitas fuerit non suspecta nobis. Idque adeo haud 5
scio mirandumne sit, cum compluribus aliis de causis,
tum maxime, quod ei, qui virtute belli omnibus
gentibus praeferebantur, tantum se eius opinionis
deperdidisse, ut a populo Romano imperia perferrent,
gravissime dolebant.

Intrigues of Indutiomarus.

Treveri vero atque Indutiomarus totius hiemis 55
nullum tempus intermiserunt, quin trans
Rhenum legatos mitterent, civitates sol-
licitarent, pecunias pollicerentur, magna parte ex-
ercitus nostri interfecta multo minorem superesse
dicerent partem. Neque tamen ulli civitati German- 2
orum persuaderi potuit, ut Rhenum transiret, cum se
bis expertos dicerent, Ariovisti bello et Tencterorum
transitu: non esse amplius fortunam temptaturos.
Hac spe lapsus Indutiomarus nihilo minus copias 3
cogere, exercere, a finitimis equos parare, exules
damnatosque tota Gallia magnis praemiis ad se alli-
cere coepit. Ac tantam sibi iam his rebus in Gallia 4
auctoritatem comparaverat, ut undique ad eum lega-
tiones concurrerent, gratiam atque amicitiam publice
privatimque peterent.

He attacks Lab., but is routed and slain.

Ubi intellexit, ultro ad se veniri, altera ex parte 56
Senones Carnutesque conscientia facinoris
instigari, altera Nervios Aduatucosque
bellum Romanis parare, neque sibi voluntariorum
copias defore, si ex finibus suis progredi coepisset,
armatum concilium indicit. Hoc more Gallorum est 2
initium belli: quo lege communi omnes puberes
armati convenire consuerunt; qui ex iis novissimus
convenit, in conspectu multitudinis omnibus crucia-

A.U.C. 700 3 tibus affectus necatur. In eo concilio Cingetorigem,
alterius principem factionis, generum suum, quem
supra demonstravimus Caesaris secutum fidem ab eo
non discessisse, hostem iudicat bonaque eius publicat.
4 His rebus confectis in concilio pronuntiat, arcessitum
se a Senonibus et Carnutibus aliisque compluribus
5 Galliae civitatibus; huc iturum per fines Remorum
eorumque agros populaturum ac, priusquam id faciat,
castra Labieni oppugnaturum. Quae fieri velit,
praecipit.

57 Labienus, cum et loci natura et manu munitissimis
castris sese teneret, de suo ac legionis periculo nihil
timebat, ne quam occasionem rei bene gerendae
2 dimitteret, cogitabat. Itaque a Cingetorige atque
eius propinquis oratione Indutiomari cognita, quam
in concilio habuerat, nuntios mittit ad finitimas
civitates equitesque undique evocat: his certum diem
3 conveniendi dicit. Interim prope cotidie cum omni
equitatu Indutiomarus sub castris eius vagabatur,
alias ut situm castrorum cognosceret, alias colloquendi
aut territandi causa; equites plerumque omnes tela
4 intra vallum coniciebant. Labienus suos intra munitionem continebat timorisque opinionem, quibuscumque poterat rebus, augebat.

58 Cum maiore in dies contemptione Indutiomarus
ad castra accederet, nocte una intromissis equitibus
omnium finitimarum civitatum, quos arcessendos
curaverat, tanta diligentia omnes suos custodiis intra
castra continuit, ut nulla ratione ea res enuntiari
2 aut ad Treveros perferri posset. Interim ex consuetudine cotidiana Indutiomarus ad castra accedit

atque ibi magnam partem diei consumit; equites tela B.C.
coniciunt et magna cum contumelia verborum nostros 54
ad pugnam evocant. Nullo ab nostris dato responso, 3
ubi visum est, sub vesperum dispersi ac dissipati
discedunt. Subito Labienus duabus portis omnem 4
equitatum emittit; praecipit atque interdicit, proter-
ritis hostibus atque in fugam coniectis—quod fore,
sicut accidit, videbat—unum omnes peterent Indutio-
marum, neu quis quem prius vulneret, quam illum
interfectum viderit, quod mora reliquorum spatium
nactum illum effugere nolebat; magna proponit iis, 5
qui occiderint, praemia; summittit cohortes equitibus
subsidio. Comprobat hominis consilium fortuna, et 6
cum unum omnes peterent, in ipso fluminis vado
deprehensus Indutiomarus interficitur caputque eius
refertur in castra; redeuntes equites, quos possunt,
consectantur atque occidunt. Hac re cognita omnes 7
Eburonum et Nerviorum, quae convenerant, copiae
discedunt, pauloque habuit post id factum Caesar
quietiorem Galliam.

C. IULI CAESARIS

DE BELLO GALLICO

COMMENTARIUS SEXTUS.

A.U.C. 701

C. expecting a rising levies fresh troops.

1 MULTIS de causis Caesar maiorem Galliae motum
exspectans per Marcum Silanum, Gaium
Antistium Reginum, Titum Sextium lega-
2 tos delectum habere instituit; simul ab Gneo Pompeio
proconsule petit, quoniam ipse ad urbem cum imperio
reipublicae causa remaneret, quos ex Cisalpina Gallia
consul sacramento rogasset, ad signa convenire et ad
3 se proficisci iuberet, magni interesse etiam in reliquum
tempus ad opinionem Galliae existimans, tantas videri
Italiae facultates, ut, si quid esset in bello detrimenti
acceptum, non modo id brevi tempore resarciri, sed
4 etiam maioribus augeri copiis posset. Quod cum
Pompeius et reipublicae et amicitiae tribuisset, cele-
riter confecto per suos delectu tribus ante exactam
hiemem et constitutis et adductis legionibus dupli-
catoque earum cohortium numero, quas cum Q.
Titurio amiserat, et celeritate et copiis docuit, quid
populi Romani disciplina atque opes possent.

B.C. 53

Interfecto Indutiomaro, ut docuimus, ad eius pro- **2**
pinquos a Treveris imperium defertur.
Illi finitimos Germanos sollicitare et
pecuniam polliceri non desistunt. Cum ab proximis 2
impetrare non possent, ulteriores temptant. Inventis
nonnullis civitatibus iureiurando inter se confirmant
obsidibusque de pecunia cavent; Ambiorigem sibi
societate et foedere adiungunt. Quibus rebus cogni- 3
tis Caesar, cum undique bellum parari videret, Ner-
vios, Aduatucos, [ac] Menapios adiunctis Cisrhenanis
omnibus Germanis esse in armis, Senones ad impera-
tum non venire et cum Carnutibus finitimisque
civitatibus consilia communicare, a Treveris Germanos
crebris legationibus sollicitari, maturius sibi de bello
cogitandum putavit.

Behaviour of the Treveri.

Itaque nondum hieme confecta proximis quattuor **3**
coactis legionibus de improviso in fines
Nerviorum contendit et, priusquam illi 2
aut convenire aut profugere possent,
magno pecoris atque hominum numero capto atque
ea praeda militibus concessa vastatisque agris in
deditionem venire atque obsides sibi dare coegit. Eo 3
celeriter confecto negotio rursus in hiberna legiones
reduxit. Concilio Galliae primo vere, ut instituerat, 4
indicto, cum reliqui praeter Senones, Carnutes Tre-
verosque venissent, initium belli ac defectionis hoc
esse arbitratus, ut omnia postponere videretur, con-
cilium Lutetiam Parisiorum transfert. Confines erant 5
hi Senonibus civitatemque patrum memoria coniunx-
erant, sed ab hoc consilio afuisse existimabantur.
Hac re pro suggestu pronuntiata eodem die cum 6

C. quells the Nervii, calls a council at Lutetia, and marches against the Senones,

A.U.C. 701

legionibus in Senones proficiscitur magnisque itineri-
bus eo pervenit.

4 Cognito eius adventu Acco, qui princeps eius con-
who give him a hundred hostages, silii fuerat, iubet in oppida multitudinem
convenire. Conantibus, priusquam id
2 effici posset, adesse Romanos nuntiatur. Necessario
sententia desistunt legatosque deprecandi causa ad
Caesarem mittunt; adeunt per Aeduos quorum anti-
3 quitus erat in fide civitas. Libenter Caesar petentibus
Aeduis dat veniam excusationemque accipit, quod
aestivum tempus instantis belli, non quaestionis esse
4 arbitratur. Obsidibus imperatis centum, hos Aeduis
5 *as do the Carnutes.* custodiendos tradit. Eodem Carnutes
legatos obsidesque mittunt, usi depreca-
toribus Remis, quorum erant in clientela; eadem
6 ferunt responsa. Peragit concilium Caesar equitesque
imperat civitatibus.

5 Hac parte Galliae pacata totus et mente et animo
C. subdues the Menapii, the allies of Ambiorix. in bellum Treverorum et Ambiorigis in-
2 sistit. Cavarinum cum equitatu Senonum
secum proficisci iubet, ne quis aut ex huius iracundia
aut ex eo, quod meruerat, odio civitatis motus exsistat.
3 His rebus constitutis, quod pro explorato habebat,
Ambiorigem proelio non esse concertaturum, reliqua
4 eius consilia animo circumspiciebat. Erant Menapii
propinqui Eburonum finibus, perpetuis paludibus
silvisque muniti, qui uni ex Gallia de pace ad Caesarem
legatos numquam miserant. Cum his esse hospitium
Ambiorigi sciebat; item per Treveros venisse Ger-
5 manis in amicitiam cognoverat. Haec prius illi
detrahenda auxilia existimabat, quam ipsum bello

lacesseret, ne desperata salute aut se in Menapios abderet aut cum Transrhenanis congredi cogeretur. B.C. 53
Hoc inito consilio totius exercitus impedimenta ad 6
Labienum in Treveros mittit duasque legiones ad eum proficisci iubet; ipse cum legionibus expeditis quinque in Menapios proficiscitur. Illi nulla coacta 7
manu loci praesidio freti in silvas paludesque confugiunt suaque eodem conferunt.

Caesar partitis copiis cum Gaio Fabio legato et 6
Marco Crasso quaestore celeriterque effectis pontibus adit tripertito, aedificia vicosque incendit, magno pecoris atque hominum numero potitur. Quibus 2
rebus coacti Menapii legatos ad eum pacis petendae causa mittunt. Ille obsidibus acceptis hostium se 3
habiturum numero confirmat, si aut Ambiorigem aut eius legatos finibus suis recepissent. His confirmatis 4
rebus Commium Atrebatem cum equitatu custodis loco in Menapiis relinquit, ipse in Treveros proficiscitur.

The Treveri attack Labienus,

Dum haec a Caesare geruntur, Treveri magnis 7
coactis peditatus equitatusque copiis Labienum cum una legione, quae in eorum finibus hiemaverat, adoriri parabant, iamque ab eo non 2
longius bidui via aberant, cum duas venisse legiones missu Caesaris cognoscunt. Positis castris a milibus 3
passuum xv auxilia Germanorum exspectare constituunt. Labienus hostium cognito consilio, sperans, 4
temeritate eorum fore aliquam dimicandi facultatem, praesidio quinque cohortium impedimentis relicto cum viginti quinque cohortibus magnoque equitatu contra hostem proficiscitur et mille passuum inter-

5 misso spatio castra communit. Erat inter Labienum
atque hostem difficili transitu flumen ripisque prae-
ruptis. Hoc neque ipse transire habebat in animo
neque hostes transituros existimabat. Augebatur
6 auxiliorum cotidie spes. Loquitur [in consilio] palam,
quoniam Germani appropinquare dicantur, sese suas
exercitusque fortunas in dubium non devocaturum et
7 postero die prima luce castra moturum. Celeriter
haec ad hostes deferuntur, ut ex magno Gallorum
equitum numero nonnullos Gallicis rebus favere
8 natura cogebat. Labienus noctu tribunis militum
primisque ordinibus convocatis, quid sui sit consilii,
proponit et, quo facilius hostibus timoris det suspi-
cionem, maiore strepitu et tumultu, quam populi
Romani fert consuetudo, castra moveri iubet. His
9 rebus fugae similem profectionem effecit. Haec quo-
que per exploratores ante lucem in tanta propinquitate
castrorum ad hostes deferuntur.

8 Vix agmen novissimum extra munitiones proces-
but are routed. serat, cum Galli, cohortati inter se, ne
speratam praedam ex manibus dimitterent; longum
esse, perterritis Romanis Germanorum auxilium ex-
spectare, neque suam pati dignitatem, ut tantis copiis
tam exiguam manum, praesertim fugientem atque
impeditam, adoriri non audeant, flumen transire et
2 iniquo loco committere proelium non dubitant. Quae
fore suspicatus Labienus, ut omnes citra flumen
eliceret, eadem usus simulatione itineris placide pro-
3 grediebatur. Tum praemissis paulum impedimentis
atque in tumulo quodam collocatis, *Habetis*, inquit,
milites, quam petistis, facultatem: hostem impedito atque

iniquo loco tenetis: praestate eandem nobis ducibus vir- 4 B.C. 53
tutem, quam saepenumero imperatori praestitistis, atque
illum adesse et haec coram cernere existimate. Simul 5
signa ad hostem converti aciemque dirigi iubet et
paucis turmis praesidio ad impedimenta dimissis
reliquos equites ad latera disponit. Celeriter nostri 6
clamore sublato pila in hostes immittunt. Illi, ubi
praeter spem, quos fugere credebant, infestis signis ad
se ire viderunt, impetum modo ferre non potuerunt
ac primo concursu in fugam coniecti proximas silvas
petiverunt. Quos Labienus equitatu consectatus 7
magno numero interfecto, compluribus captis paucis
post diebus civitatem recepit. Nam Germani, qui
auxilio veniebant, percepta Treverorum fuga sese
domum receperunt. Cum his propinqui Indutiomari, 8
qui defectionis auctores fuerant, comitati eos ex
civitate excesserunt. Cingetorigi, quem ab initio 9
permansisse in officio demonstravimus, principatus
atque imperium est traditum.

C. crosses the Rhine,

Caesar, postquam ex Menapiis in Treveros venit, 9
duabus de causis Rhenum transire con-
stituit; quarum una erat, quod auxilia 2
contra se Treveris miserant, altera, ne ad eos Am-
biorix receptum haberet. His constitutis rebus 3
paulum supra eum locum, quo ante exercitum tra-
duxerat, facere pontem instituit. Nota atque instituta 4
ratione magno militum studio paucis diebus opus
efficitur. Firmo in Treveris ad pontem praesidio 5
relicto, ne quis ab his subito motus oreretur, reliquas
copias equitatumque traducit. Ubii, qui 6
ante obsides dederant atque in dedi-

accepts the excuses of the Ubii.

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tionem venerant, purgandi sui causa ad eum legatos mittunt, qui doceant, neque auxilia ex sua civitate
7 in Treveros missa neque ab se fidem laesam; petunt atque orant, ut sibi parcat, ne communi odio Germanorum innocentes pro nocentibus poenas pendant;
8 si amplius obsidum velit, dare pollicentur. Cognita Caesar causa reperit, ab Suebis auxilia missa esse; Ubiorum satisfactionem accipit, aditus viasque in Suebos perquirit.

The Suebi retreat into the Silva Bacenis.

10 Interim paucis post diebus fit ab Ubiis certior, Suebos omnes in unum locum copias cogere atque iis nationibus, quae sub eorum sint imperio, denuntiare, ut auxilia peditatus equita-
2 tusque mittant. His cognitis rebus rem frumentariam providet, castris idoneum locum deligit; Ubiis imperat, ut pecora deducant suaque omnia ex agris in oppida conferant, sperans, barbaros atque imperitos homines inopia cibariorum adductos ad iniquam pug-
3 nandi condicionem posse deduci; mandat, ut crebros exploratores in Suebos mittant, quaeque apud eos
4 gerantur, cognoscant. Illi imperata faciunt et paucis diebus intermissis referunt: Suebos omnes, posteaquam certiores nuntii de exercitu Romanorum venerint, cum omnibus suis sociorumque copiis, quas coegissent, penitus ad extremos fines se recepisse:
5 silvam esse ibi infinita magnitudine, quae appellatur Bacenis; hanc longe introrsus pertinere et pro nativo muro obiectam Cheruscos ab Suebis Suebosque ab Cheruscis iniuriis incursionibusque prohibere: ad eius initium silvae Suebos adventum Romanorum exspectare constituisse.

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CH. 11 FF.—THE GAULS, THEIR MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

Quoniam ad hunc locum perventum est, non alienum esse videtur, de Galliae Germaniaeque moribus et, quo differant hae nationes inter sese, proponere. In Gallia non solum in omnibus civitatibus atque in omnibus pagis partibusque, sed paene etiam in singulis domibus factiones sunt, earumque factionum principes sunt, qui summam auctoritatem eorum iudicio habere existimantur, quorum ad arbitrium iudiciumque summa omnium rerum consiliorumque redeat. Itaque eius rei causa antiquitus institutum videtur, ne quis ex plebe contra potentiorem auxilii egeret: suos enim quisque opprimi et circumveniri non patitur, neque, aliter si faciat, ullam inter suos habet auctoritatem. Haec eadem ratio est in summa totius Galliae: namque omnes civitates in partes divisae sunt duas.

Their politics.

11 … 2 … 3 … 4 … 5

Cum Caesar in Galliam venit, alterius factionis principes erant Aedui, alterius Sequani. Hi cum per se minus valerent, quod summa auctoritas antiquitus erat in Aeduis magnaeque eorum erant clientelae, Germanos atque Ariovistum sibi adiunxerant eosque ad se magnis facturis pollicitationibusque perduxerant. Proeliis vero compluribus factis secundis atque omni nobilitate Aeduorum interfecta tantum potentia antecesserant, ut magnam partem clientium ab Aeduis ad se transducerent obsidesque ab iis principum filios acciperent et publice iurare cogerent, nihil se contra Sequanos consilii inituros, et partem finitimi agri

12 … 2 … 3 … 4

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per vim occupatam possiderent Galliaeque totius
5 principatum obtinerent. Qua necessitate adductus
Divitiacus auxilii petendi causa Romam ad senatum
6 profectus imperfecta re redierat. Adventu Caesaris
facta commutatione rerum, obsidibus Aeduis redditis,
veteribus clientelis restitutis, novis per Caesarem
comparatis, quod hi, qui se ad eorum amicitiam
aggregaverant, meliore condicione atque aequiore im-
perio se uti videbant, reliquis rebus eorum gratia
dignitateque amplificata, Sequani principatum dimi-
7 serant. In eorum locum Remi successerant; quos
quod adaequare apud Caesarem gratia intellegebatur,
ii, qui propter veteres inimicitias nullo modo cum
Aeduis coniungi poterant, se Remis in clientelam
8 dicabant. Hos illi diligenter tuebantur: ita et novam
9 et repente collectam auctoritatem tenebant. Eo tum
statu res erat, ut longe principes haberentur Aedui,
secundum locum dignitatis Remi obtinerent.

The classes of society.

13 In omni Gallia eorum hominum, qui aliquo sunt
numero atque honore, genera sunt duo:
nam plebes paene servorum habetur loco,
quae nihil audet per se, nullo adhibetur consilio;
2 plerique, cum aut aere alieno aut magnitudine tri-
butorum aut iniuria potentiorum premuntur, sese in
3 servitutem dicant nobilibus; quibus in hos eadem
omnia sunt iura, quae dominis in servos. Sed de
his duobus generibus alterum est druidum, alterum
4 equitum. Illi rebus divinis intersunt, sacrificia pub-
lica ac privata procurant, religiones interpretantur:
ad eos magnus adulescentium numerus disciplinae
causa concurrit, magnoque hi sunt apud eos honore.

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Nam fere de omnibus controversiis publicis privatis- 5
que constituunt, et si quod est admissum facinus, si
caedes facta, si de hereditate, de finibus controversia
est, idem decernunt, praemia poenasque constituunt;
si qui aut privatus aut populus eorum decreto non 6
stetit, sacrificiis interdicunt. Haec poena apud eos
est gravissima. Quibus ita est interdictum, hi numero 7
impiorum ac sceleratorum habentur, his omnes dece-
dunt, aditum sermonemque defugiunt, ne quid ex
contagione incommodi accipiant, neque his petentibus
ius redditur neque honos ullus communicatur. His 8
autem omnibus druidibus praeest unus, qui summam
inter eos habet auctoritatem. Hoc mortuo aut, si qui 9
ex reliquis excellit dignitate, succedit, aut, si sunt
plures pares, suffragio druidum, nonnumquam etiam
armis de principatu contendunt. Hi certo anni tem- 10
pore in finibus Carnutum, quae regio totius Galliae
media habetur, considunt in loco consecrato. Huc
omnes undique, qui controversias habent, conveniunt
eorumque decretis iudiciisque parent. Disciplina in 11
Britannia reperta atque inde in Galliam translata esse
existimatur, et nunc, qui diligentius eam rem cogno-
scerere volunt, plerumque illo discendi causa pro-
ficiscuntur.

The Druids.

Druides a bello abesse consuerunt neque tributa **14**
una cum reliquis pendunt, militiae vaca-
tionem omniumque rerum habent immunitatem.
Tantis excitati praemiis et sua sponte multi in dis- 2
ciplinam conveniunt et a parentibus propinquisque
mittuntur. Magnum ibi numerum versuum ediscere 3
dicuntur. Itaque annos nonnulli vicenos in disciplina

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permanent. Neque fas esse existimant ea litteris
mandare, cum in reliquis fere rebus, publicis priva-
4 tisque rationibus, Graecis litteris utantur. Id mihi
duabus de causis instituisse videntur, quod neque
in vulgum disciplinam efferri velint neque eos, qui
discunt, litteris confisos minus memoriae studere;
quod fere plerisque accidit, ut praesidio litterarum
diligentiam in perdiscendo ac memoriam remittant.
5 Imprimis hoc volunt persuadere, non interire animas,
sed ab aliis post mortem transire ad alios, atque hoc
maxime ad virtutem excitari putant, metu mortis
6 neglecto. Multa praeterea de sideribus atque eorum
motu, de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine, de rerum
natura, de deorum immortalium vi ac potestate dis-
putant et iuventuti tradunt.

15 Alterum genus est equitum. Hi, cum est usus
The knights. atque aliquod bellum incidit—quod fere
ante Caesaris adventum quotannis accidere solebat,
ut aut ipsi iniurias inferrent aut illatas propulsarent—
2 omnes in bello versantur, atque eorum ut quisque est
genere copiisque amplissimus, ita plurimos circum se
ambactos clientesque habet. Hanc unam gratiam po-
tentiamque noverunt.

16 Natio est omnis Gallorum admodum dedita religioni-
2 *Superstitions.* bus, atque ob eam causam, qui sunt affecti
gravioribus morbis quique in proeliis periculisque ver-
santur, aut pro victimis homines immolant aut se
immolaturos vovent administrisque ad ea sacrificia
3 druidibus utuntur, quod, pro vita hominis nisi hominis
vita reddatur, non posse deorum immortalium numen
placari arbitrantur, publiceque eiusdem generis habent

instituta sacrificia. Alii immani magnitudine simulacra 4 B.C. 53
habent, quorum contexta viminibus membra vivis hominibus complent; quibus succensis circumventi flamma exanimantur homines. Supplicia eorum, qui 5
in furto aut in latrocinio aut aliqua noxia sint comprehensi, gratiora dis immortalibus esse arbitrantur: sed cum eius generis copia defecit, etiam ad innocentium supplicia descendunt.

Deum maxime Mercurium colunt. Huius sunt 17
plurima simulacra, hunc omnium inven- *Gods.*
torem artium ferunt, hunc viarum atque itinerum ducem, hunc ad quaestus pecuniae mercaturasque habere vim maximam arbitrantur. Post hunc Apol- 2
linem et Martem et Iovem et Minervam. De his eandem fere, quam reliquae gentes, habent opinionem: Apollinem morbos depellere, Minervam operum atque artificiorum initia tradere, Iovem imperium caelestium tenere, Martem bella regere. Huic, cum proelio 3
dimicare constituerunt, ea, quae bello ceperint, plerumque devovent: cum superaverunt, *Vows.*
animalia capta immolant reliquasque res in unum locum conferunt. Multis in civitatibus harum rerum 4
exstructos tumulos locis consecratis conspicari licet; neque saepe accidit, ut neglecta quispiam religione 5
aut capta apud se occultare aut posita tollere auderet, gravissimumque ei rei supplicium cum cruciatu constitutum est.

Galli se omnes ab Dite patre prognatos praedicant 18
idque ab druidibus proditum dicunt. Ob *Social customs.* 2
eam causam spatia omnis temporis non numero dierum, sed noctium finiunt; dies natales et mensium

A.U.C. 701 et annorum initia sic observant, ut noctem dies sub-
3 sequatur. In reliquis vitae institutis hoc fere ab reliquis differunt, quod suos liberos, nisi cum adoleverunt, ut munus militiae sustinere possint, palam ad se adire non patiuntur filiumque puerili aetate in publico in conspectu patris assistere turpe ducunt.

19 Viri, quantas pecunias ab uxoribus dotis nomine
Marriages. acceperunt, tantas ex suis bonis aestima-
2 tione facta cum dotibus communicant. Huius omnis pecuniae coniunctim ratio habetur fructusque servantur; uter eorum vita superarit, ad eum pars utriusque cum fructibus superiorum temporum per-
3 venit. Viri in uxores, sicuti in liberos, vitae necisque habent potestatem; et cum paterfamiliae illustriore loco natus decessit, eius propinqui conveniunt et, de morte si res in suspicionem venit, de uxoribus in servilem modum quaestionem habent et, si compertum est, igni atque omnibus tormentis excruciatas inter-
4 *Funerals.* ficiunt. Funera sunt pro cultu Gallorum magnifica et sumptuosa; omniaque, quae vivis cordi fuisse arbitrantur, in ignem inferunt, etiam animalia, ac paulo supra hanc memoriam servi et clientes, quos ab iis dilectos esse constabat, iustis funeribus confectis una cremabantur.

20 Quae civitates commodius suam rem publicam admin-
Diplomatic secrets. istrare existimantur, habent legibus sanctum, si quis quid de re republica a finitimis rumore
2 aut fama acceperit, uti ad magistratum deferat neve cum quo alio communicet, quod saepe homines temerarios atque imperitos falsis rumoribus terreri et ad facinus impelli et de summis rebus consilium capere cognitum

est. Magistratus, quae visa sunt, occultant, quaeque 3 B.C. 53
esse ex usu iudicaverunt, multitudini produnt. De
re publica nisi per concilium loqui non conceditur.

CC. 21 FF.—HABITS, ETC., OF THE GERMANS.

Germani multum ab hac consuetudine differunt. 21
Nam neque druides habent, qui rebus *Their gods.*
divinis praesint, neque sacrificiis student. Deorum 2
numero eos solos ducunt, quos cernunt et quorum
aperte opibus iuvantur, Solem et Vulcanum et Lunam,
reliquos ne fama quidem acceperunt. Vita omnis in 3
venationibusque atque in studiis rei militaris consistit;
ab parvulis labori ac duritiae student. *Hard and chaste*
Qui diutissime impuberes permanserunt, *life.* 4
maximam inter suos ferunt laudem: hoc ali staturam,
ali vires nervosque confirmari putant. Intra annum 5
vero vicesimum feminae notitiam habuisse in tur-
pissimis habent rebus; cuius rei nulla est occultatio,
quod et promiscue in fluminibus perluuntur et pellibus
aut parvis rhenonum tegimentis utuntur, magna cor-
poris parte nuda.

Agriculturae non student, maiorque pars eorum 22
victus in lacte, caseo, carne consistit. *Chiefly pastoral,*
Neque quisquam agri modum certum *no private lands.* 2
aut fines habet proprios, sed magistratus ac principes
in annos singulos gentibus cognationibusque hominum,
qui tum una coierunt, quantum et quo loco visum est
agri, attribuunt atque anno post alio transire cogunt.
Eius rei multas afferunt causas: ne assidua consue- 3
tudine capti studium belli gerendi agricultura com-

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mutent; ne latos fines parare studeant potentioresque humiliores possessionibus expellant; ne accuratius ad frigora atque aestus vitandos aedificent; ne qua oriatur pecuniae cupiditas, qua ex re factiones dissen-
4 sionesque nascuntur; ut animi aequitate plebem contineant, cum suas quisque opes cum potentissimis aequari videat.

23 Civitatibus maxima laus est quam latissime circum
2 *Habits in war.* se vastatis finibus solitudines habere. Hoc proprium virtutis existimant, expulsos agris finitimos cedere neque quemquam prope audere consistere;
3 simul hoc se fore tutiores arbitrantur, repentinae in-
4 cursionis timore sublato. Cum bellum civitas aut illatum defendit aut infert, magistratus, qui ei bello praesint, ut vitae necisque habeant potestatem, deli-
5 guntur. In pace nullus est communis magistratus, sed principes regionum atque pagorum inter suos ius
6 *Brigandage.* dicunt controversiasque minuunt. Latrocinia nullam habent infamiam, quae extra fines cuiusque civitatis fiunt, atque ea iuventutis exercendae
7 ac desidiae minuendae causa fieri praedicant. Atque ubi quis ex principibus in concilio dixit, se ducem fore, qui sequi velint, profiteantur, consurgunt ii, qui et causam et hominem probant, suumque auxilium
8 pollicentur atque ab multitudine collaudantur; qui ex his secuti non sunt, in desertorum ac proditorum numero ducuntur, omniumque his rerum postea fides
9 *Hospitality.* derogatur. Hospitem violare fas non putant; qui quaque de causa ad eos venerunt, ab iniuria prohibent, sanctos habent, hisque omnium domus patent victusque communicatur.

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Comparative prowess of Gauls and Germans.

Ac fuit antea tempus, cum Germanos Galli virtute **24**
superarent, ultro bella inferrent, propter
hominum multitudinem agrique inopiam
trans Rhenum colonias mitterent. Itaque ea, quae 2
fertilissima Germaniae sunt, loca circum Hercyniam
silvam, quam Eratostheni et quibusdam Graecis fama
notam esse video, quam illi Orcyniam appellant,
Volcae Tectosages occupaverunt atque ibi consederunt;
quae gens ad hoc tempus his sedibus sese continet 3
summamque habet iustitiae et bellicae laudis opin-
ionem. Nunc quod in eadem inopia, egestate, pa- 4
tientia, qua ante Germani permanent, eodem victu et
cultu corporis utuntur, Gallis autem provinciarum 5
propinquitas et transmarinarum rerum notitia multa
ad copiam atque usus largitur, paulatim assuefacti 6
superari multisque victi proeliis, ne se quidem ipsi
cum illis virtute comparant.

The Hercynian Forest.

Huius Hercyniae silvae, quae supra demonstrata **25**
est, latitudo novem dierum iter expedito
patet; non enim aliter finiri potest, neque
mensuras itinerum noverunt. Oritur ab Helvetiorum 2
et Nemetum et Rauricorum finibus rectaque fluminis
Danuvii regione pertinet ad fines Dacorum et An-
artium; hinc se flectit sinistrorsus diversis ab flumine 3
regionibus multarumque gentium fines propter mag-
nitudinem attingit; neque quisquam est huius Germa- 4
niae, qui se aut adisse ad initium eius silvae dicat,
cum dierum iter LX processerit, aut, quo ex loco
oriatur, acceperit, multaque in ea genera 5
ferarum nasci constat, quae reliquis in
locis visa non sint; ex quibus quae maxime differant

Beasts found therein:

A.U.C. 701 ab ceteris et memoriae prodenda videantur, haec sunt.

26 Est bos cervi figura, cuius a media fronte inter
one-horned oxen, aures unum cornu existit excelsius magis-
2 que directum his, quae nobis nota sunt, cornibus; ab eius summo sicut palmae ramique late diffunduntur.
3 Eadem est feminae marisque natura, eadem forma magnitudoque cornuum.

27 Sunt item, quae appellantur alces. Harum est
elks, consimilis capris figura et varietas pellium, sed magnitudine paulo antecedunt mutilaeque sunt cornibus et crura sine nodis articulisque habent, neque
2 quietis causa procumbunt neque, si quo afflictae casu
3 conciderunt, erigere sese aut sublevare possunt. His
4 sunt arbores pro cubilibus: ad eas se applicant atque ita paulum modo reclinatae quietem capiunt. Quarum ex vestigiis cum est animadversum a venatoribus, quo se recipere consuerint, omnes eo loco aut ab radicibus subruunt aut accidunt arbores tantum, ut summa
5 species earum stantium relinquatur. Huc cum se consuetudine reclinaverunt, infirmas arbores pondere affligunt atque una ipsae concidunt.

28 Tertium est genus eorum, qui uri appellantur. Hi
uri. sunt magnitudine paulo infra elephantos,
2 specie et colore et figura tauri. Magna vis eorum est et magna velocitas, neque homini neque ferae, quam conspexerunt, parcunt. Hos studiose foveis captos
3 interficiunt. Hoc se labore durant adulescentes atque hoc genere venationis exercent, et qui plurimos ex his interfecerunt, relatis in publicum cornibus, quae sint
4 testimonio, magnam ferunt laudem. Sed assuescere

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ad homines et mansuefieri ne parvuli quidem excepti possunt. Amplitudo cornuum et figura et species 5
multum a nostrorum boum cornibus differt. Haec 6
studiose conquisita ab labris argento circumcludunt atque in amplissimis epulis pro poculis utuntur.

C. leaves a force on the Rhine, marches against Ambiorix through the Silva Arduenna.

Caesar, postquam per Ubios exploratores comperit, 29
Suebos sese in silvas recepisse, inopiam frumenti veritus, quod, ut supra demonstravimus, minime homines Germani agriculturae student, constituit non progredi longius; sed, ne omnino metum reditus sui 2
barbaris tolleret atque ut eorum auxilia tardaret, reducto exercitu partem ultimam pontis, quae ripas Ubiorum contingebat, in longitudinem pedum ducen- 3
torum rescindit atque in extremo ponte turrim tabulatorum quattuor constituit praesidiumque cohortium XII pontis tuendi causa ponit magnisque eum locum munitionibus firmat. Ei loco praesidioque Gaium Volcatium Tullum adulescentem praefecit. Ipse, cum 4
maturescere frumenta inciperent, ad bellum Ambiorigis profectus per Arduennam silvam, quae est totius Galliae maxima atque ab ripis Rheni finibusque Treverorum ad Nervios pertinet milibusque amplius quingentis in longitudinem patet, Lucium Minucium Basilum cum omni equitatu praemittit, si quid celeritate itineris atque opportunitate temporis proficere posset; monet, ut ignes 5
in castris fieri prohibeat, ne qua eius adventus procul significatio fiat; sese confestim subsequi dicit.

Basilus sent on to surprise Ambiorix,

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30 Basilus, ut imperatum est, facit. Celeriter contraque omnium opinionem confecto itinere multos in agris inopinantes deprehendit: eorum indicio ad ipsum Ambiorigem contendit, quo

which he does with great success,

2 in loco cum paucis equitibus esse dicebatur. Multum cum in omnibus rebus, tum in re militari potest fortuna. Nam sicut magno accidit casu, ut in ipsum incautum etiam atque imparatum incideret, priusque eius adventus ab hominibus videretur, quam fama ac nuntius afferretur, sic magnae fuit fortunae, omni militari instrumento, quod circum se habebat, erepto, redis equisque comprehensis, ipsum effugere mortem.

3 Sed hoc quoque factum est, quod aedificio circumdato silva, ut sunt fere domicilia Gallorum, qui vitandi aestus causa plerumque silvarum atque fluminum petunt propinquitates, comites familiaresque eius angusto in loco paulisper equitum

and almost takes Ambiorix prisoner.

4 nostrorum vim sustinuerunt. His pugnantibus illum in equum quidam ex suis intulit: fugientem silvae texerunt. Sic et ad subeundum periculum et ad vitandum multum fortuna valuit.

31 Ambiorix copias suas iudicione non conduxerit, quod proelio dimicandum non existimarit, an tempore exclusus et repentino equitum adventu prohibitus, cum reliquum exercitum

Ambiorix orders a 'sauve qui peut.'

2 subsequi crederet, dubium est. Sed certe dimissis per agros nuntiis sibi quemque consulere iussit. Quorum pars in Arduennam silvam, pars in con-

3 tinentes paludes profugit: qui proximi Oceano fuerunt, hi insulis sese occultaverunt, quas aestus efficere

4 consuerunt; multi ex suis finibus egressi se suaque

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omnia alienissimis crediderunt. Catuvolcus, rex dimi- 5
diae partis Eburonum, qui una cum Am-
biorige consilium inierat, aetate iam
confectus, cum laborem belli aut fugae ferre non
posset, omnibus precibus detestatus Ambiorigem, qui
eius consilii auctor fuisset, taxo, cuius magna in
Gallia Germaniaque copia est, se exanimavit.

Death of Catuvolcus.

Segni Condrusique, ex gente et numero German- **32**
orum, qui sunt inter Eburones Treveros-
que, legatos ad Caesarem miserunt
oratum, ne se in hostium numero
duceret neve omnium Germanorum, qui essent citra
Rhenum, unam esse causam iudicaret: nihil se de bello
cogitasse, nulla Ambiorigi auxilia misisse. Caesar 2
explorata re quaestione captivorum, si qui ad eos
Eburones ex fuga convenissent, ad se ut reducerentur,
imperavit; si ita fecissent, fines eorum se violaturum
negavit. Tum copiis in tres partes distributis impedi- 3
menta omnium legionum Aduatucam contulit. Id
castelli nomen est. Hoc fere est in mediis Eburonum 4
finibus, ubi Titurius atque Aurunculeius hiemandi
causa consederant. Hunc cum reliquis rebus locum pro- 5
barat, tum quod superioris anni munitiones integrae
manebant, ut militum laborem sublevaret. Praesidio
impedimentis legionem quartamdecimam reliquit, un-
am ex his tribus, quas proxime conscriptas ex Italia
traduxerat. Ei legioni castrisque Quintum Tullium 6
Ciceronem praeficit ducentosque equites attribuit.

C. stations a garrison at Aduatuca under Q. Cicero.

Partito exercitu Titum Labienum cum legionibus **33**
tribus ad Oceanum versus in eas partes,
quae Menapios attingunt, proficisci iubet,

C. distributes his forces and follows Ambiorix.

A.U.C. 701 2 Gaium Trebonium cum pari legionum numero ad eam regionem, quae ad Aduatucos adiacet, depopulandam
3 mittit, ipse cum reliquis tribus ad flumen Scaldem, quod influit in Mosam, extremasque Arduennae partis ire constituit, quo cum paucis equitibus profectum
4 Ambiorigem audiebat. Discedens post diem septimum sese reversurum confirmat, quam ad diem ei legioni, quae in praesidio relinquebatur, deberi fru-
5 mentum sciebat. Labienum Treboniumque hortatur, si reipublicae commodo facere possint, ad eum diem revertantur, ut rursus communicato consilio exploratisque hostium rationibus aliud initium belli capere possint.

34 Erat, ut supra demonstravimus, manus certa nulla, non oppidum, non praesidium, quod se armis defenderet, sed in omnis partis

Difficulties in his way.

2 dispersa multitudo. Ubi cuique aut valles abdita aut locus silvestris aut palus impedita spem praesidii
3 aut salutis aliquam offerebat, consederat. Haec loca vicinitatibus erant nota, magnamque res diligentiam requirebat non in summa exercitus tuenda—nullum enim poterat universis ab perterritis ac dispersis periculum accidere—, sed in singulis militibus conservandis; quae tamen ex parte res ad salutem exer-
4 citus pertinebat. Nam et praedae cupiditas multos longius evocabat, et silvae incertis occultisque itineri-
5 bus confertos adire prohibebant. Si negotium confici stirpemque hominum sceleratorum interfici vellet, dimittendae plures manus diducendique erant milites;
6 si continere ad signa manipulos vellet, ut instituta ratio et consuetudo exercitus Romani postulabat,

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locus ipse erat praesidio barbaris, neque ex occulto
insidiandi et dispersos circumveniendi singulis deerat
audacia. Ut in eiusmodi difficultatibus, quantum 7
diligentia provideri poterat, providebatur, ut potius
in nocendo aliquid praetermitteretur, etsi omnium
animi ad ulciscendum ardebant, quam cum aliquo
militum detrimento noceretur. Dimittit ad finitimas 8
civitates nuntios Caesar, omnes vocat spe
praedae ad diripiendos Eburones, ut
potius in silvis Gallorum vita quam legionarius miles
periclitetur, simul ut magna multitudine circumfusa
pro tali facinore stirps ac nomen civitatis tollatur.
Magnus undique numerus celeriter convenit. 9

Promised booty of the Eburones.

Haec in omnibus Eburonum partibus gerebantur, **35**
diesque appetebat septimus, quem ad
diem Caesar ad impedimenta legionem-
que reverti constituerat. Hic, quantum 2
in bello fortuna possit et quantos afferat casus, co-
gnosci potuit. Dissipatis ac perterritis hostibus, ut 3
demonstravimus, manus erat nulla, quae parvam
modo causam timoris afferret. Trans Rhenum ad 4
Germanos pervenit fama, diripi Eburones atque ultro
omnes ad praedam evocari. Cogunt equitum duo 5
milia Sugambri, qui sunt proximi Rheno, a quibus
receptos ex fuga Tencteros atque Usipetes supra
docuimus. Transeunt Rhenum navibus ratibusque 6
triginta milibus passuum infra eum locum, ubi pons
erat perfectus praesidiumque ab Caesare relictum,
primos Eburonum fines adeunt; multos ex fuga dis-
persos excipiunt, magno pecoris numero, cuius sunt
cupidissimi barbari, potiuntur. Invitati praeda lon-

The Sugambri attack the Eburones and Aduatuca.

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7 gius procedunt. Non hos palus in bello latrociniisque
natos, non silvae morantur. Quibus in locis sit
Caesar, ex captivis quaerunt; profectum longius re-
periunt omnemque exercitum discessisse cognoscunt.
8 Atque unus ex captivis, "Quid vos," inquit, "hanc
miseram ac tenuem sectamini praedam, quibus licet
iam esse fortunatissimis? Tribus horis Aduatucam
venire potestis; huc omnes suas fortunas exercitus
9 Romanorum contulit; praesidii tantum est, ut ne
murus quidem cingi possit neque quisquam egredi
10 extra munitiones audeat." Oblata spe Germani, quam
nacti erant praedam, in occulto relinquunt; ipsi Adua-
tucam contendunt usi eodem duce, cuius haec indicio
cognoverant.

36 Cicero, qui omnes superiores dies praeceptis Caesaris
Cicero's vigilance cum summa diligentia milites in castris
continuisset ac ne calonem quidem quemquam extra
munitionem egredi passus esset, septimo die, diffidens,
de numero dierum Caesarem fidem servaturum, quod
longius progressum audiebat neque ulla de reditu
2 eius fama afferebatur, simul eorum permotus vocibus,
qui illius patientiam paene obsessionem appellabant,
[siquidem ex castris egredi non liceret,] nullum eius-
modi casum exspectans, quo, novem oppositis legioni-
bus maximoque equitatu dispersis ac paene deletis
hostibus, in milibus passuum tribus offendi posset,
quinque cohortes frumentatum in proximas segetes
mittit, quas inter et castra unus omnino collis inter-
3 *is relaxed.* erat. Complures erant ex legionibus aegri
relicti; ex quibus qui hoc spatio dierum convalue-
rant, circiter CCC, sub vexillo una mittuntur; magna

praeterea multitudo calonum, magna vis iumentorum, B.C.
quae in castris subsederant, facta potestate sequitur. 53

Hoc ipso tempore et casu Germani equites interve- 37
niunt protinusque eodem illo, quo vene-
rant, cursu ab decumana porta in castra
irrumpere conantur, nec prius sunt visi 2
obiectis ab ea parte silvis, quam castris appropin-
quarent, usque eo, ut qui sub vallo tenderent
mercatores, recipiendi sui facultatem non haberent.
Inopinantes nostri re nova perturbantur, ac vix 3
primum impetum cohors in statione sustinet. Cir- 4
cumfunduntur ex reliquis hostes partibus, si quem
aditum reperire possent. Aegre portas nostri tuentur; 5
reliquos aditus locus ipse per se munitioque defendit.
Totis trepidatur castris, atque alius ex alio causam 6
tumultus quaerit; neque quo signa ferantur, neque
quam in partem quisque conveniat, provident. Alius 7
castra iam capta pronuntiat, alius deleto exercitu
atque imperatore victores barbaros venisse contendit;
plerique novas sibi ex loco religiones fingunt Cottae- 8
que et Titurii calamitatem, qui in eodem occiderint
castello, ante oculos ponunt. Tali timore omnibus 9
perterritis, confirmatur opinio barbaris, ut ex captivo
audierant, nullum esse intus praesidium. Perrumpere 10
nituntur seque ipsi adhortantur, ne tantam fortunam
ex manibus dimittant.

Fierce attack of the Germans, panic among the garrison,

Erat aeger cum praesidio relictus Publius Sextius 38
Baculus, qui primum pilum ad Caesarem
duxerat, cuius mentionem superioribus
proeliis fecimus, ac diem iam quintum cibo caruerat.
Hic diffisus suae atque omnium saluti inermis ex 2

which is stayed by Baculus.

.U.C. 701 tabernaculo prodit; videt, imminere hostes atque in summo esse rem discrimine: capit arma a proximis
3 atque in porta consistit. Consequuntur hunc centuriones eius cohortis, quae in statione erat; paulisper
4 una proelium sustinent. Relinquit animus Sextium gravibus acceptis vulneribus; aegre per manus tractus
5 servatur. Hoc spatio interposito reliqui sese confirmant tantum, ut in munitionibus consistere audeant speciemque defensorum praebeant.

39 Interim confecta frumentatione milites nostri clamorem exaudiunt; praecurrunt equites; quanto res sit in periculo, cognoscunt.

The foragers return,

2 Hic vero nulla munitio est, quae perterritos recipiat: modo conscripti atque usus militaris imperiti ad tribunum militum centurionesque ora convertunt;
3 quid ab his praecipiatur, exspectant. Nemo est tam
4 fortis, quin rei novitate perturbetur. Barbari signa procul conspicati oppugnatione desistunt; redisse primo legiones credunt, quas longius discessisse ex captivis cognoverant; postea despecta paucitate ex omnibus partibus impetum faciunt.

40 Calones in proximum tumulum procurrunt. Hinc celeriter deiecti se in signa manipulosque coniciunt; eo magis timidos perterrent

and break through the enemy,

2 milites. Alii, cuneo facto ut celeriter perrumpant, censent, quoniam tam propinqua sint castra, et si pars aliqua circumventa ceciderit, at reliquos servari posse
3 confidunt; alii, ut in iugo consistant atque eundem
4 omnes ferant casum. Hoc veteres non probant milites, quos sub vexillo una profectos docuimus. Itaque inter se cohortati duce Gaio Trebonio, equite

Romano, qui eis erat praepositus, per medios hostes B.C. 53
perrumpunt incolumesque ad unum omnes in castra
perveniunt. Hos subsecuti calones equitesque eodem 5
impetu militum virtute servantur. At ii, qui in iugo 6
constiterant, nullo etiam nunc usu rei *except some few.*
militaris percepto, neque in eo, quod probaverant,
consilio permanere, ut se loco superiore defenderent,
neque eam, quam prodesse aliis vim celeritatemque
viderant, imitari potuerunt, sed se in castra recipere
conati iniquum in locum demiserunt. Centuriones, 7
quorum nonnulli ex inferioribus ordinibus reliquarum
legionum virtutis causa in superiores erant ordines
huius legionis traducti, ne ante partam rei militaris
laudem amitterent, fortissime pugnantes conciderunt.
Militum pars, horum virtute submotis hostibus, praeter 8
spem incolumis in castra pervenit, pars a barbaris
circumventa periit.

Germani desperata expugnatione castrorum, quod **41**
nostros iam constitisse in munitionibus *The Germans return home. Continued panic.*
videbant, cum ea praeda, quam in silvis
deposuerant, trans Rhenum sese receperunt. Ac 2
tantus fuit etiam post discessum hostium terror, ut ea
nocte, cum Gaius Volusenus missus cum equitatu ad
castra venisset, fidem non faceret, adesse cum incolumi
Caesarem exercitu. Sic omnino animos timor prae- 3
occupaverat, ut paene alienata mente deletis omnibus
copiis equitatum se ex fuga recepisse dicerent neque
incolumi exercitu Germanos castra oppugnaturos fuisse
contenderet. Quem timorem Caesaris adventus sustulit. 4

Reversus ille, eventus belli non ignorans, unum, **42**
quod cohortes ex statione et praesidio *C.'s arrival.*

A.U.C. 701 essent emissae, questus—ne minimo quidem casu locum relinqui debuisse—multum fortunam in re-
2 pentino hostium adventu potuisse iudicavit, multo etiam amplius, quod paene ab ipso vallo portisque
3 castrorum barbaros avertisset. Quarum omnium rerum maxime admirandum videbatur, quod Germani, qui eo consilio Rhenum transierant, ut Ambiorigis fines depopularentur, ad castra Romanorum delati optatissimum Ambiorigi beneficium obtulerunt.

He again pursues Ambiorix in vain,

43 Caesar rursus ad vexandos hostes profectus magno coacto numero ex finitimis civitatibus in
2 omnes partes dimittit. Omnes vici atque omnia aedificia, quae quisque conspexerat, incende-
3 bantur; praeda ex omnibus locis agebatur; frumenta non solum a tanta multitudine iumentorum atque hominum consumebantur, sed etiam anni tempore atque imbribus procubuerant, ut, si qui etiam in praesentia se occultassent, tamen his deducto exercitu
4 rerum omnium inopia pereundum videretur. Ac saepe in eum locum ventum est tanto in omnis partis diviso equitatu, ut modo visum ab se Ambiorigem in fuga circumspicerent captivi nec plane etiam abisse
5 ex conspectu contenderent, ut spe consequendi illata atque infinito labore suscepto, qui se summam ab Caesare gratiam inituros putarent, paene naturam studio vincerent, semperque paulum ad summam
6 felicitatem defuisse videretur, atque ille latebris aut saltibus se eriperet et noctu occultatus alias regiones partesque peteret non maiore equitum praesidio quam quattuor, quibus solis vitam suam committere audebat.

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and distributes his forces for the winter.

Tali modo vastatis regionibus exercitum Caesar 44
duarum cohortium damno Durocortorum
Remorum reducit, concilioque in eum
locum Galliae indicto de coniuratione Senonum et
Carnutum quaestionem habere instituit et de Accone,
qui princeps eius consilii fuerat, graviore sententia 2
pronuntiata more maiorum supplicium sumpsit. Non-
nulli iudicium veriti profugerunt. Quibus cum aqua 3
atque igni interdixisset, duas legiones ad fines Tre-
verorum, duas in Lingonibus, sex reliquas in Senonum
finibus Agedinci in hibernis collocavit frumentoque
exercitui proviso, ut instituerat, in Italiam ad con-
ventus agendos profectus est.

C. IULI CAESARIS
DE BELLO GALLICO
COMMENTARIUS SEPTIMUS.

THE WAR WITH VERCINGETORIX.

A.U.C. 702

A new rising planned.

1 QUIETA Gallia, Caesar, ut constituerat, in Italiam
ad conventus agendos proficiscitur. Ibi
cognoscit de Clodii caede, de senatusque
consulto certior factus, ut omnes iuniores Italiae con-
iurarent, delectum tota provincia habere instituit.
2 Eae res in Galliam Transalpinam celeriter perferuntur.
Addunt ipsi et affingunt rumoribus Galli, quod res
poscere videbatur, retineri urbano motu Caesarem
neque in tantis dissensionibus ad exercitum venire
3 posse. Hac impulsi occasione, qui iam ante se populi
Romani imperio subiectos dolerent, liberius atque
4 audacius de bello consilia inire incipiunt. Indictis
inter se principes Galliae conciliis, silvestribus ac
remotis locis queruntur de Acconis morte; posse
5 hunc casum ad ipsos recidere demonstrant; mise-
rantur communem Galliae fortunam; omnibus polli-
citationibus ac praemiis deposcunt, qui belli initium

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faciant et sui capitis periculo Galliam in libertatem vindicent. 6 Imprimis rationem esse habendam dicunt, priusquam eorum clandestina consilia efferantur, ut Caesar ab exercitu intercludatur. 7 Id esse facile, quod neque legiones audeant absente imperatore ex hibernis egredi, neque imperator sine praesidio ad legiones pervenire possit. 8 Postremo in acie praestare interfici, quam non veterem belli gloriam libertatemque, quam a maioribus acceperint, recuperare.

The Carnutes offer to begin it.

2 His rebus agitatis profitentur Carnutes, se nullum periculum communis salutis causa recusare, principesque ex omnibus bellum facturos pollicentur et, 2 quoniam in praesentia obsidibus cavere inter se non possint, ne res efferatur, ut iureiurando ac fide sanciatur, petunt, collatis militaribus signis, quo more eorum gravissima caerimonia continetur, ne facto initio belli ab reliquis deserantur. 3 Tum collaudatis Carnutibus, dato iureiurando ab omnibus, qui aderant, tempore eius rei constituto ab concilio disceditur.

They massacre some Romans at Cenabum.

3 Ubi ea dies venit, Carnutes Gutruato et Conconnetodumno ducibus, desperatis hominibus, Cenabum signo dato concurrunt civesque Romanos, qui negotiandi causa ibi constiterant, in his Gaium Fufium Citam, honestum equitem Romanum, qui rei frumentariae iussu Caesaris praeerat, interficiunt bonaque eorum diripiunt. 2 Celeriter ad omnes Galliae civitates fama perfertur. Nam ubicumque maior atque illustrior incidit res, clamore per agros regionesque significant; hunc alii deinceps excipiunt et proximis tradunt, ut tum accidit. 3 Nam quae

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Cenabi oriente sole gesta essent, ante primam con-
fectam vigiliam in finibus Arvenorum audita sunt,
quod spatium est milium passuum circiter CLX.

4 Simili ratione ibi Vercingetorix, Celtilli filius,

Vercingetorix the Arvernian.

Arvernus, summae potentiae adulescens,
cuius pater principatum Galliae totius
obtinuerat et ob eam causam, quod regnum appetebat,
ab civitate erat interfectus, convocatis suis clientibus
2 facile incendit. Cognito eius consilio ad arma con-
curritur. Prohibetur ab Gobannitione, patruo suo,
reliquisque principibus, qui hanc temptandam for-
tunam non existimabant, expellitur ex oppido Ger-
3 govia; non destitit tamen atque in agris habet
delectum egentium ac perditorum. Hac coacta manu,
quoscumque adit ex civitate, ad suam sententiam
4 perducit; hortatur, ut communis libertatis causa
arma capiant, magnisque coactis copiis adversarios
suos, a quibus paulo ante erat eiectus, expellit ex
5 civitate. Rex ab suis appellatur. Dimittit quoque-
versus legationes; obtestatur, ut in fide maneant.
6 Celeriter sibi Senones, Parisios, Pictones, Cadurcos,
Turonos, Aulercos, Lemovices, Andos reliquosque
omnes, qui Oceanum attingunt, adiungit; omnium
consensu ad eum defertur imperium.

His stringent measures.

7 Qua oblata potestate omnibus his civi-
tatibus obsides imperat, certum numerum militum ad
8 se celeriter adduci iubet, armorum quantum quaeque
civitas domi quodque ante tempus efficiat, constituit;
9 imprimis equitatui studet. Summae diligentiae sum-
mam imperii severitatem addit; magnitudine supplicii
10 dubitantes cogit. Nam maiore commisso delicto igne

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atque omnibus tormentis necat, leviore de causa auribus desectis aut singulis effossis oculis domum remittit, ut sint reliquis documento et magnitudine poenae perterreant alios.

Doubtful conduct of the Aedui.

His suppliciis celeriter coacto exercitu, Lucterium 5
Cadurcum, summae hominem audaciae, cum parte copiarum in Rutenos mittit; ipse in Bituriges proficiscitur. Eius adventu Bituriges 2
ad Aeduos quorum erant in fide, legatos mittunt subsidium rogatum, quo facilius hostium copias sustinere possint. Aedui de consilio legatorum, quos Caesar 3
ad exercitum reliquerat, copias equitatus peditatusque subsidio Biturigibus mittunt. Qui cum ad flumen 4
Ligerim venissent, quod Bituriges ab Aeduis dividit, paucos dies ibi morati neque flumen transire ausi domum revertuntur legatisque nostris renuntiant, se 5
Biturigum perfidiam veritos revertisse, quibus id consilii fuisse cognoverint, ut, si flumen transissent, una ex parte ipsi, altera Arverni se circumsisterent. Id 6
eane de causa, quam legatis pronuntiarunt, an perfidia adducti fecerint, quod nihil nobis constat, non videtur pro certo esse proponendum. Bituriges eorum discessu statim cum 7
Arvernis iunguntur.

The Bituriges join the Arverni.

C. is perplexed.

His rebus in Italiam Caesari nuntiatis, cum iam 6
ille urbanas res virtute Gnei Pompei commodiorem in statum pervenisse intellegeret, in Transalpinam Galliam profectus est. Eo cum venisset, 2
magna difficultate afficiebatur, qua ratione ad exercitum pervenire posset. Nam si legiones in provinciam 3
arcesseret, se absente in itinere proelio dimicaturas

A.U.C. 702 intellegebat; si ipse ad exercitum contenderet, ne iis quidem eo tempore, qui quieti viderentur, suam salutem recte committi videbat.

7 Interim Lucterius Cadurcus in Rutenos missus eam
2 civitatem Arvernis conciliat. Progressus in Nitiobroges et Gabalos ab utrisque obsides accipit et magna coacta manu in provinciam Narbonem versus erup-
3 tionem facere contendit. Qua re nuntiata Caesar omnibus consiliis antevertendum existimavit, ut Nar-
4 *He goes to Narbo.* bonem proficisceretur. Eo cum venisset, timentes confirmat, praesidia in Rutenis provincialibus, Volcis Arecomicis, Tolosatibus circumque Narbonem,
5 quae loca hostibus erant finitima, constituit, partem copiarum ex provincia supplementumque, quod ex Italia adduxerat, in Helvios, qui fines Arvernorum contingunt, convenire iubet.

8 His rebus comparatis represso iam Lucterio et
Crosses the Cevenna. remoto, quod intrare intra praesidia peri-
2 culosum putabat, in Helvios proficiscitur. Etsi mons Cevenna, qui Arvernos ab Helviis discludit, durissimo tempore anni altissima nive iter impediebat, tamen discussa nive sex in altitudinem pedum atque ita viis patefactis summo militum sudore ad fines Arvernorum
3 pervenit. Quibus oppressis inopinantibus, quod se Cevenna ut muro munitos existimabant, ac ne singulari quidem umquam homini eo tempore anni semitae patuerant, equitibus imperat, ut, quam latissime possint, vagentur et quam maximum hostibus ter-
4 *V. moves southwards.* rorem inferant. Celeriter haec fama ac nuntii ad Vercingetorigem perferuntur; quem perterriti omnes Arverni circumsistunt atque

obsecrant, uti suis fortunis consulat neu se ab hos- B.C. 52
tibus diripi patiatur, praesertim cum videat omne
ad se bellum translatum. Quorum ille precibus 5
permotus castra ex Biturigibus movet in Arvernos
versus.

At Caesar biduum in his locis moratus, quod haec 9
de Vercingetorige usu ventura opinione praeceperat,
per causam supplementi equitatusque cogendi ab
exercitu discedit, Brutum adulescentem his copiis
praeficit; hunc monet, ut in omnis partes equites 2
quam latissime pervagentur: daturum se operam, ne
longius triduo ab castris absit. His constitutis rebus 3
suis inopinantibus, quam maximis potest itineribus,
Viennam pervenit. Ibi nanctus recentem equitatum, 4
quem multis ante diebus eo praemiserat, neque diurno
neque nocturno itinere intermisso per fines Aeduorum
in Lingones contendit, ubi duae legiones hiemabant,
ut, si quid etiam de sua salute ab Aeduis iniretur
consilii, celeritate praecurreret. Eo cum pervenisset, 5
ad reliquas legiones mittit priusque omnes in unum
locum cogit, quam de eius adventu Arvernis nuntiari
posset. Hac re cognita Vercingetorix *V. besieges Gorgobina.* 6
rursus in Bituriges exercitum reducit
atque inde profectus Gorgobinam, Boiorum oppidum,
quos ibi Helvetico proelio victos Caesar collocaverat
Aeduisque attribuerat, oppugnare instituit.

Magnam haec res Caesari difficultatem ad consilium 10
capiendum afferebat, si reliquam partem hiemis uno
in loco legiones contineret, ne stipendiariis Aeduorum
expugnatis cuncta Gallia deficeret, quod nullum
amicis in eo praesidium videret positum esse; si

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maturius ex hibernis educeret, ne ab re frumentaria
2 *C. determines to relieve it.* duris subvectionibus laboraret. Praestare visum est tamen omnis difficultates perpeti, quam tanta contumelia accepta omnium suorum
3 voluntates alienare. Itaque cohortatus Aeduos de supportando commeatu praemittit ad Boios, qui de suo adventu doceant hortenturque, ut in fide maneant atque hostium impetum magno animo sustineant.
4 Duabus Agedinci legionibus atque impedimentis totius exercitus relictis ad Boios proficiscitur.

11 Altero die cum ad oppidum Senonum Vellaunodu-
On the way he besieges Vellaunodunum. num venisset, ne quem post se hostem relinqueret, quo expeditiore re frumentaria uteretur, oppugnare instituit idque biduo cir-
2 cumvallavit; tertio die missis ex oppido legatis de deditione, arma conferri, iumenta produci, sexcentos
3 obsides dari iubet. Ea qui conficeret, Gaium Trebonium legatum relinquit, ipse ut quam primum iter
4 faceret. Cenabum Carnutum proficiscitur; qui, tum primum allato nuntio de oppugnatione Vellaunoduni, cum longius eam rem ductum iri existimarent, praesidium Cenabi tuendi causa, quod eo mitterent, com-
5 parabant. Huc biduo pervenit. Castris ante oppidum positis, diei tempore exclusus in posterum oppugnationem differt, quaeque ad eam rem usui sint,
6 militibus imperat et, quod oppidum Cenabum pons
Takes Cenabum. fluminis Ligeris contingebat, veritus, ne nocte ex oppido profugerent, duas legiones in armis
7 excubare iubet. Cenabenses paulo ante mediam noctem silentio ex oppido egressi flumen transire
8 coeperunt. Qua re per exploratores nuntiata, Caesar

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legiones, quas expeditas esse iusserat, portis incensis intromittit atque oppido potitur perpaucis ex hostium numero desideratis, quin cuncti caperentur, quod pontis atque itinerum angustiae multitudinis fugam intercluserant. Oppidum diripit atque incendit, 9
praedam militibus donat, exercitum Ligerem traducit atque in Biturigum fines pervenit.

V. leaves Gorgobina and prevents the capitulation of Noviodunum,

Vercingetorix, ubi de Caesaris adventu cognovit, 12
oppugnatione destitit atque obviam Caesari proficiscitur. Ille oppidum Biturigum 2
positum in via Noviodunum oppugnare instituerat. Quo ex oppido cum legati ad eum 3
venissent oratum, ut sibi ignosceret suaeque vitae consuleret, ut celeritate reliquas res conficeret, qua pleraque erat consecutus, arma conferri, equos produci, obsides dari iubet. Parte iam obsidum tradita, cum 4
reliqua administrarentur, centurionibus et paucis militibus intromissis, qui arma iumentaque conquirerent, equitatus hostium procul visus est, qui agmen Vercingetorigis antecesserant. Quem simul atque oppi- 5
dani conspexerunt atque in spem auxilii venerunt, clamore sublato arma capere, portas claudere, murum complere coeperunt. Centuriones in oppido, cum ex 6
significatione Gallorum novi aliquid ab iis iniri consilii intellexissent, gladiis destrictis portas occupaverunt suosque omnes incolumes receperunt.

which yields a little later.

Caesar ex castris equitatum educi iubet, proelium 13
equestre committit; laborantibus iam suis Germanos equites circiter CCCC submittit, quos ab initio habere secum instituerat. Eo- 2
rum impetum Galli sustinere non potuerunt atque

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in fugam coniecti multis amissis se ad agmen recepe-
runt. Quibus profligatis rursus oppidani perterriti
comprehensos eos, quorum opera plebem concitatam
existimabant, ad Caesarem perduxerunt seseque ei

C. starts for Avaricum.

3 dediderunt. Quibus rebus confectis
Caesar ad oppidum Avaricum, quod
erat maximum munitissimumque in finibus Biturigum
atque agri fertilissima regione, profectus est, quod
eo oppido recepto civitatem Biturigum se in potes-
tatem redacturum confidebat.

V.'s speech to his men.

14 Vercingetorix tot continuis incommodis Vellauno-
duni, Cenabi, Novioduni acceptis suos
2 ad concilium convocat. Docet, longe
alia ratione esse bellum gerendum, atque antea gestum
sit. Omnibus modis huic rei studendum, ut pabula-
3 tione et commeatu Romani prohibeantur. Id esse
facile, quod equitatu ipsi abundent et quod anni
4 tempore subleventur. Pabulum secari non posse;
necessario dispersos hostes ex aedificiis petere: hos
5 omnes cotidie ab equitibus deleri posse. Praeterea
salutis causa rei familiaris commoda neglegenda: vicos
atque aedificia incendi oportere hoc spatio ab via
quoqueversus, quo pabulandi causa adire posse
6 videantur. Harum ipsis rerum copiam suppetere,
quod, quorum in finibus bellum geratur, eorum opibus
7 subleventur; Romanos aut inopiam non laturos aut
8 magno periculo longius ab castris processuros; neque
interesse, ipsosne interficiant impedimentisne exuant,
9 quibus amissis bellum geri non possit. Praeterea
oppida incendi oportere, quae non munitione et loci
natura ab omni sint periculo tuta, neu suis sint ad

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detractandam militiam receptacula neu Romanis proposita ad copiam commeatus praedamque tollendam.
Haec si gravia aut acerba videantur, multo illla gravius 10
aestimare, liberos, coniuges in servitutem abstrahi, ipsos interfici; quae sit necesse accidere victis.

Omnium consensu hac sententia probata, uno die **15**
amplius XX urbes Biturigum incenduntur. Hoc idem in reliquis fit civitatibus. In omnibus partibus 2
incendia conspiciuntur; quae etsi magno cum dolore omnes ferebant, tamen hoc sibi solatii proponebant, quod se prope explorata victoria celeriter amissa reciperaturos confidebant. Deliberatur de Avarico 3
in communi concilio, incendi placeret an defendi. Procumbunt omnibus Gallis ad pedes 4
Bituriges, ne pulcherrimam prope totius Galliae urbem, quae praesidio et ornamento sit civitati, suis manibus succendere cogerentur; facile se 5
loci natura defensuros dicunt, quod, prope ex omnibus partibus flumine et palude circumdata, unum habeat et perangustum aditum. Datur petentibus venia, 6
dissuadente primo Vercingetorige, post concedente et precibus ipsorum et misericordia vulgi. Defensores oppido idonei deliguntur.

Avaricum to be defended.

Vercingetorix minoribus Caesarem itineribus sub- **16**
sequitur et locum castris deligit paludibus silvisque munitum ab Avarico longe milia passuum XVI. Ibi per certos exploratores in singula 2
diei tempora, quae ad Avaricum agerentur, cognoscebat et, quid fieri vellet, imperabat. Omnes nostras 3
pabulationes frumentationesque observabat dispersosque, cum longius necessario procederent, adoriebatur

V. encamps sixteen miles off.

A.U.C. 702 magnoque incommodo afficiebat, etsi, quantum ratione provideri poterat, ab nostris occurrebatur, ut incertis temporibus diversisque itineribus iretur.

17 Castris ad eam partem oppidi positis Caesar, quae intermissa a flumine et a paludibus aditum, ut supra diximus, angustum habebat, aggerem apparare, vineas agere, turres duas constituere coepit; nam circum-
2 vallare loci natura prohibebat. De re frumentaria Boios atque Aeduos adhortari non destitit; quorum alteri, quod nullo studio agebant, non multum adiuvabant, alteri non magnis facultatibus, quod civitas erat exigua et infirma, celeriter, quod habuerunt,
3 consumpserunt. Summa difficultate rei frumentariae affecto exercitu tenuitate Boiorum, indiligentia Aeduorum, incendiis aedificiorum, usque eo, ut complures dies frumento milites caruerint et pecore ex longinquioribus vicis adacto extremam famem sustentarent, nulla tamen vox est ab iis audita populi Romani maiestate et
4 superioribus victoriis indigna. Quin etiam Caesar cum in opere singulas legiones appellaret et, si acerbius inopiam ferrent, se dimissurum oppugnationem diceret, universi ab eo, ne id faceret, petebant:
5 sic se complures annos illo imperante meruisse, ut nullam ignominiam acciperent, nusquam incepta re
6 discederent; hoc se ignominiae laturos loco, si in-
7 ceptam oppugnationem reliquissent; praestare omnes perferre acerbitates, quam non civibus Romanis, qui
8 Cenabi perfidia Gallorum interissent, parentarent. Haec eadem centurionibus tribunisque militum mandabant, ut per eos ad Caesarem deferrentur.

Difficulty about supplies, and distress of the Romans.

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A battle imminent.

Cum iam muro turres appropinquassent, ex captivis 18
Caesar cognovit, Vercingetorigem con-
sumpto pabulo castra movisse propius
Avaricum atque ipsum cum equitatu expeditisque,
qui inter equites proëliari consuessent, insidiarum
causa eo profectum, quo nostros postero die pabulatum
venturos arbitraretur. Quibus rebus cognitis media 2
nocte silentio profectus ad hostium castra mane per-
venit. Illi celeriter per exploratores adventu Caesaris 3
cognito carros impedimentaque sua in artiores silvas
abdiderunt, copias omnis in loco edito atque aperto
instruxerunt. Qua re nuntiata Caesar celeriter sar- 4
cinas conferri arma expediri iussit.

Collis erat leniter ab infimo acclivis. Hunc ex 19
omnibus fere partibus palus difficilis atque impedita
cingebat non latior pedibus quinquaginta. Hoc se 2
colle interruptis pontibus Galli fiducia loci contine-
bant generatimque distributi [in civitates] omnia vada
ac saltus [eius paludis] obtinebant, sic animo parati,
ut, si eam paludem Romani perrumpere conarentur,
haesitantes premerent ex loco superiore, ut, qui 3
propinquitatem loci videret, paratos prope aequo
Marte ad dimicandum existimaret, qui iniquitatem
condicionis perspiceret, inani simulatione sese osten-
tare cognosceret. Indignantes milites Caesar, quod 4
conspectum suum hostes perferre possent tantulo
spatio interiecto, et signum proelii exposcentes edo-
cet, quanto detrimento et quot virorum
fortium morte necesse sit constare vic-
toriam; quos cum sic animo paratos videat, ut nullum 5
pro sua laude periculum recusent, summae se ini-

Strong position of the Gauls.

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quitatis condemnari debere, nisi eorum vitam sua
6 salute habeat cariorem. Sic milites consolatus eodem
die reducit in castra reliquaque, quae ad oppugna-
tionem pertinebant oppidi, administrare instituit.

20 Vercingetorix, cum ad suos redisset, proditionis in-

V. accused of treachery.

simulatus, quod castra propius Romanos
movisset, quod cum omni equitatu dis-
cessisset, quod sine imperio tantas copias reliquisset,
quod eius discessu Romani tanta opportunitate et
2 celeritate venissent; non haec omnia fortuito aut
sine consilio accidere potuisse; regnum illum Galliae
malle Caesaris concessu quam ipsorum habere bene-
3 ficio: tali modo accusatus ad haec respondit: Quod

His defence.

castra movisset, factum inopia pabuli
etiam ipsis hortantibus: quod propius Romanos
accessisset, persuasum loci opportunitate, qui se ipse
4 sine munitione defenderet; equitum vero operam
neque in loco palustri desiderari debuisse et illic
5 fuisse utilem, quo sint profecti. Summam imperii se
consulto nulli discedentem tradidisse, ne is multitu-
dinis studio ad dimicandum impelleretur; cui rei
propter animi mollitiem studere omnes videret, quod
6 diutius laborem ferre non possent. Romani si casu
intervenerint, fortunae, si alicuius indicio vocati, huic
habendam gratiam, quod et paucitatem eorum ex loco
superiore cognoscere et virtutem despicere potuerint,
qui dimicare non ausi turpiter se in castra receperint.
7 Imperium se ab Caesare per proditionem nullum
desiderare, quod habere victoria posset, quae iam
esset sibi atque omnibus Gallis explorata; quin etiam
ipsis remittere, si sibi magis honorem tribuere quam

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ab se salutem accipere videantur. "Haec ut intellega- 8
tis," inquit, "a me sincere pronuntiari, audite Romanos
milites." Producit servos, quos in pabulatione paucis 9
ante diebus exceperat et fame vinculisque excrucia-
verat. Hi iam ante edocti, quae interrogati pronuntia- 10
rent, milites se esse legionarios dicunt; fame et inopia
adductos clam ex castris exisse, si quid frumenti aut
pecoris in agris reperire possent; simili omnem exer- 11
citum inopia premi, nec iam vires sufficere cuiusquam
nec ferre operis laborem posse; itaque statuisse im-
peratorem, si nihil in oppugnatione oppidi profecis-
sent, triduo exercitum deducere. "Haec," inquit, 12
"a me," Vercingetorix, "beneficia habetis, quem pro-
ditionis insimulatis; cuius opera sine vestro sanguine
tantum exercitum victorem fame consumptum videtis;
quem turpiter se ex fuga recipientem ne qua civitas
suis finibus recipiat a me provisum est."

Resolve to send 10,000 men to Avaricum.

Conclamat omnis multitudo et suo more armis **21**
concrepat, quod facere in eo consuerunt, cuius orationem approbant; summum esse Vercingetorigem ducem, nec de eius fide dubitandum, nec maiore ratione bellum administrari posse.
Statuunt, ut X milia hominum delecta ex omnibus 2
copiis in oppidum mittantur, nec solis Biturigibus 3
communem salutem committendam censent, quod paene in eo, si id oppidum retinuissent, summam victoriae constare intellegebant.

Details of the siege.

Singulari militum nostrorum virtuti consilia cu- **22**
iusque modi Gallorum occurrebant, ut est summae genus sollertiae atque ad omnia imitanda et efficienda, quae ab quoque tra-

A.U.C. 702 2 duntur, aptissimum. Nam et laqueis falces avertebant, quas, cum destinaverant, tormentis introrsus reducebant, et aggerem cuniculis subtrahebant, eo scientius, quod apud eos magnae sunt ferrariae atque omne genus cuniculorum notum atque usitatum est.
3 Totum autem murum ex omni parte turribus con-
4 tabulaverant atque has coriis intexerant. Tum crebris diurnis nocturnisque eruptionibus aut aggeri ignem inferebant aut milites occupatos in opere adoriebantur et nostrarum turrium altitudinem, quantum has coti-
5 dianus agger expresserat, commissis suarum turrium malis adaequabant et apertos cuniculos praeusta et praeacuta materia et pice fervefacta et maximi ponderis saxis morabantur moenibusque appropinquare prohibebant.

23 Muri autem omnes Gallici hac fere forma sunt. Trabes directae perpetuae in longitudinem paribus intervallis distantes inter se binos pedes, in solo
2 collocantur. Hae revinciuntur introrsus et multo aggere vestiuntur, ea autem, quae diximus, intervalla
3 grandibus in fronte saxis effarciuntur. His collocatis et coagmentatis alius insuper ordo additur, ut idem illud intervallum servetur neque inter se contingant trabes, sed paribus intermissae spatiis singulae singulis
4 saxis interiectis arte contineantur. Sic deinceps omne opus contexitur, dum iusta muri altitudo expleatur.
5 Hoc cum in speciem varietatemque opus deforme non est alternis trabibus ac saxis, quae rectis lineis suos ordines servant, tum ad utilitatem et defensionem urbium summam habet opportunitatem, quod et ab incendio lapis et ab ariete materia defendit, quae per-

petuis trabibus pedes quadragenos plerumque introrsus revincta neque perrumpi neque distrahi potest. B.C. 52

His tot rebus impedita oppugnatione, milites, cum 24
toto tempore frigore et assiduis imbribus tardarentur, tamen continenti labore omnia haec superaverunt et diebus XXV aggerem latum pedes CCCXXX, altum pedes LXXX exstruxerunt. Cum is murum hostium 2
paene contingeret et Caesar ad opus consuetudine excubaret militesque hortaretur, ne quod omnino tempus ab opere intermitteretur, paulo ante tertiam vigiliam est animadversum, fumare aggerem, quem 3
cuniculo hostes succenderant, eodemque tempore toto muro clamore sublato duabus portis ab utroque latere turrium eruptio fiebat. Alii faces atque aridam 4
materiem de muro in aggerem eminus iaciebant, picem reliquasque res, quibus ignis excitari potest, fundebant, ut, quo primum curreretur aut cui rei ferretur auxilium, vix ratio iniri posset. Tamen, 5
quod instituto Caesaris semper duae legiones pro castris excubabant pluresque partitis temporibus erant in opere, celeriter factum est, ut alii eruptionibus resisterent, alii turres reducerent aggeremque interscinderent, omnis vero ex castris multitudo ad restinguendum concurreret.

Cum in omnibus locis consumpta iam reliqua parte 25
noctis pugnaretur semperque hostibus spes victoriae redintegraretur, eo magis, quod deustos pluteos turrium videbant nec facile adire apertos ad auxiliandum animadvertebant, semperque ipsi recentes defessis succederent omnemque Galliae salutem in illo vestigio temporis positam arbitrarentur, accidit in-

A.U.C. 702 spectantibus nobis, quod dignum memoria visum
2 praetereundum non existimavimus. Quidam ante portam oppidi Gallus per manus sevi ac picis traditas glebas in ignem e regione turris proiciebat; scorpione ab latere dextro traiectus exanimatusque concidit.
3 Hunc ex proximis unus iacentem transgressus eodem illo munere fungebatur; eadem ratione ictu scorpionis exanimato alteri successit tertius et tertio quartus,
4 nec prius ille est a propugnatoribus vacuus relictus locus, quam restincto aggere atque omni ex parte summotis hostibus finis est pugnandi factus.

26 Omnia experti Galli, quod res nulla successerat, postero die consilium ceperunt ex oppido profugere,
2 hortante et iubente Vercingetorige. Id silentio noctis conati non magna iactura suorum sese effecturos sperabant, propterea quod neque longe ab oppido castra Vercingetorigis aberant, et palus, quae perpetua intercedebat, Romanos ad insequendum tardabat.
3 Iamque hoc facere noctu apparabant, cum matres-familiae repente in publicum procurrerunt flentesque proiectae ad pedes suorum omnibus precibus petierunt, ne se et communes liberos hostibus ad supplicium dederent, quos ad capiendam fugam naturae
4 et virium infirmitas impediret. Ubi eos in sententia perstare viderunt, quod plerumque in summo periculo timor misericordiam non recipit, conclamare et sig-
5 nificare de fuga Romanis coeperunt. Quo timore perterriti Galli, ne ab equitatu Romanorum viae praeoccuparentur, consilio destiterunt.

27 Postero die Caesar promota turri directisque operibus, quae facere instituerat, magno coorto imbre, non

inutilem hanc ad capiendum consilium tempestatem arbitratus est, quod paulo incautius custodias in muro dispositas videbat, suosque languidius in opere versari iussit et, quid fieri vellet, ostendit. Legionibusque 2
inter castra vineasque in occulto expeditis, cohortatus, ut aliquando pro tantis laboribus fructum victoriae perciperent, iis qui primi murum ascendissent, praemia proposuit militibusque signum dedit. Illi subito ex 3
omnibus partibus evolaverunt murumque celeriter compleverunt.

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28 Hostes re nova perterriti, muro turribusque deiecti in foro ac locis patentioribus cuneatim constiterunt, hoc animo, ut, si qua ex parte obviam veniretur, acie instructa depugnarent. Ubi neminem in aequum 2
locum sese demittere, sed toto undique muro circumfundi viderunt, veriti, ne omnino spes fugae tolleretur, abiectis armis ultimas oppidi partes continenti impetu petiverunt, parsque ibi, cum angusto exitu portarum 3
se ipsi premerent, a militibus, pars iam egressa portis ab equitibus est interfecta. Nec fuit quisquam, qui praedae studeret. Sic et Cenabi caede 4
et labore operis incitati non aetate confectis, non mulieribus, non infantibus pepercerunt. Denique ex 5
omni numero, qui fuit circiter milium XL, vix DCCC, qui primo clamore audito se ex oppido eiecerunt, incolumes ad Vercingetorigem pervenerunt. Quos 6
ille multa iam nocte silentio ex fuga excepit, veritus, ne qua in castris ex eorum concursu et misericordia vulgi seditio oreretur, ut, procul in via dispositis familiaribus suis principibusque civitatum, disparandos deducendosque ad suos curaret,

The town taken.

General massacre.

A.U.C. 702 quae cuique civitati pars castrorum ab initio obvenerat.

29 Postero die concilio convocato consolatus cohortatusque est, ne se admodum animo demitterent, ne perturbarentur incommodo.

V. not discouraged.

2 Non virtute neque in acie vicisse Romanos, sed artificio quodam et scientia oppugnationis, cuius rei
3 fuerint ipsi imperiti. Errare, si qui in bello omnis
4 secundos rerum proventus exspectent. Sibi numquam placuisse Avaricum defendi, cuius rei testes ipsos haberet, sed factum imprudentia Biturigum et nimia obsequentia reliquorum, uti hoc incommodum accipe-
5 retur. Id tamen se celeriter maioribus commodis
6 sanaturum. Nam quae ab reliquis Gallis civitates dissentirent, has sua diligentia adiuncturum atque unum consilium totius Galliae effecturum, cuius consensui ne orbis quidem terrarum possit obsistere; idque se prope iam
7 effectum habere. Interea aequum esse ab iis communis salutis causa impetrari, ut castra munire instituerent, quo facilius repentinos hostium impetus sustinerent.

By his vigorous speech and action he rouses the Gauls.

30 Fuit haec oratio non ingrata Gallis, et maxime, quod ipse animo non defecerat tanto accepto incommodo neque se in occultum abdiderat et conspectum
2 multitudinis fugerat; plusque animo providere et praesentire existimabatur, quod re integra primo incendendum Avaricum, post deserendum censuerat.
3 Itaque ut reliquorum imperatorum res adversae auctoritatem minuunt, sic huius ex contrario dignitas
4 incommodo accepto in dies augebatur. Simul in

spem veniebant eius affirmatione de reliquis adiungendis civitatibus; primumque eo tempore Galli castra munire instituerunt, et sic sunt animo confirmati homines insueti laboris, ut omnia, quae imperarentur, sibi patienda existimarent. B.C. 52

Nec minus, quam est pollicitus, Vercingetorix animo **31**
laborabat, ut reliquas civitates adiungeret, atque eas
donis pollicitationibusque alliciebat. Huic rei idoneos 2
homines deligebat, quorum quisque aut oratione
subdola aut amicitia facillime capere posset. Qui 3
Avarico expugnato refugerant, armandos vestiendosque curat; simul, ut deminutae copiae redintegra- 4
rentur, imperat certum numerum militum civitatibus, quem et quam ante diem in castra adduci velit, sagittariosque omnes, quorum erat permagnus numerus in Gallia, conquiri et ad se mitti iubet. His rebus celeriter id, quod Avarici deperierat, expletur.
Interim Teutomatus, Olloviconis filius, rex Nitiobro- 5
gum, cuius pater ab senatu nostro amicus erat appellatus, cum magno equitum suorum numero et quos ex Aquitania conduxerat ad eum pervenit.

Caesar Avarici complures dies commoratus sum- **32**
mamque ibi copiam frumenti et reliqui commeatus nanctus exercitum ex labore atque inopia refecit.
Iam prope hieme confecta, cum ipso anni tempore ad 2
gerendum bellum vocaretur et ad hostem proficisci constituisset, sive eum ex paludibus silvisque elicere sive obsidione premere posset, legati ad eum principes Aeduorum veniunt oratum, ut maxime necessario tempore civitati subveniat: summo esse in periculo rem, quod, cum 3

C. is asked to arbitrate on the chief magistracy of the Aedui.

A.U.C. 702

singuli magistratus antiquitus creari atque regiam potestatem annum obtinere consuessent, duo magistratum gerant et se uterque eorum legibus creatum
4 esse dicat. Horum esse alterum Convictolitavem, florentem et illustrem adulescentem, alterum Cotum, antiquissima familia natum atque ipsum hominem summae potentiae et magnae cognationis, cuius frater Valetiacus proximo anno eundem magistratum ges-
5 serit. Civitatem esse omnem in armis; divisum senatum, divisum populum, suas cuiusque eorum clientelas. Quod si diutius alatur controversia, fore, uti pars cum parte civitatis confligat; id ne accidat, positum in eius diligentia atque auctoritate.

33 Caesar, etsi a bello atque hoste discedere detrimentosum esse existimabat, tamen non ignorans, quanta ex dissensionibus incommoda oriri consuessent, ne tanta et tam coniuncta populo Romano civitas, quam ipse semper aluisset omnibusque rebus ornasset, ad vim atque arma descenderet, atque ea pars, quae minus confideret, auxilia a Vercingetorige arcesseret,
2 *His decision.* huic rei praevertendum existimavit et, quod legibus Aeduorum iis, qui summum magistratum obtinerent, excedere ex finibus non liceret, ne quid de iure aut de legibus eorum deminuisse videretur, ipse in Aeduos proficisci statuit senatumque omnem et quos inter controversia esset ad se Decetiam
3 evocavit. Cum prope omnis civitas eo convenisset, docereturque, paucis clam convocatis alio loco, alio tempore, atque oportuerit, fratrem a fratre renuntiatum, cum leges duo ex una familia vivo utroque non solum magistratus creari vetarent, sed etiam in

senatu esse prohiberent, Cotum imperium deponere B.C. 52
coëgit, Convictolitavem, qui per sacerdotes more civitatis intermissis magistratibus esset creatus, potestatem obtinere iussit.

34 Hoc decreto interposito cohortatus Aeduos, ut controversiarum ac dissensionis obliviscerentur atque omnibus omissis rebus huic bello servirent eaque, quae meruissent, praemia ab se devicta Gallia exspectarent equitatumque omnem et peditum milia decem sibi celeriter mitterent, quae in praesidiis rei frumentariae causa disponeret, exercitum in duas partes divisit: quattuor legiones in 2
Senones Parisiosque Labieno ducendas dedit, sex ipse in Arvernos ad oppidum Gergoviam secundum flumen Elaver duxit; equitatus partem illi attribuit, partem sibi reliquit. Qua re cognita Vercingetorix 3
omnibus interruptis eius fluminis pontibus ab altera fluminis parte iter facere coepit.

Marches upon Gergovia.

35 Cum uterque utrique esset exercitus in conspectu fereque e regione castris castra poneret, dispositis exploratoribus, necubi effecto ponte Romani copias traducerent, erat in magnis Caesaris 2
difficultatibus res, ne maiorem aestatis partem flumine impediretur, quod non fere ante autumnum Elaver vado transiri solet. Itaque, ne id accideret, silvestri 3
loco castris positis e regione unius eorum pontium, quos Vercingetorix rescindendos curaverat, postero die cum duabus legionibus in occulto restitit; reli- 4
quas copias cum omnibus impedimentis, ut consueverat, misit, captis quibusdam cohortibus, uti numerus legionum constare videretur. His, quam longissime 5

His stratagem.

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possent, egredi iussis, cum iam ex diei tempore coniecturam ceperat, in castra perventum, isdem sublicis, quarum pars inferior integra remanebat,
6 pontem reficere coepit. Celeriter effecto opere legionibusque traductis et loco castris idoneo delecto
7 reliquas copias revocavit. Vercingetorix re cognita, ne contra suam voluntatem dimicare cogeretur, magnis itineribus antecessit.

Reconnoitres Gergovia and occupies rising ground.

36 Caesar ex eo loco quintis castris Gergoviam pervenit equestrique eo die proelio levi facto, perspecto urbis situ, quae posita in altissimo monte omnis aditus difficiles habebat, de expugnatione desperavit, de obsessione non prius agendum constituit, quam rem
2 frumentariam expedisset. At Vercingetorix castris prope oppidum positis mediocribus circum se intervallis separatim singularum civitatium copias collocaverat, atque omnibus eius iugi collibus occupatis, qua dispici poterat, horribilem speciem praebebat
3 principesque earum civitatium, quos sibi ad consilium capiendum delegerat, prima luce cotidie ad se convenire iubebat, seu quid communicandum, seu quid
4 administrandum videretur, neque ullum fere diem intermittebat, quin equestri proelio interiectis sagittariis, quid in quoque esset animi ac virtutis suorum,
5 perspiceretur. Erat e regione oppidi collis sub ipsis radicibus montis egregie munitus atque ex omni parte circumcisus; quem si tenerent nostri, et aquae magna parte et pabulatione libera prohibituri hostes
6 videbantur. Sed is locus praesidio ab his non nimis
7 firmo tamen tenebatur. Silentio noctis Caesar ex castris

egressus, priusquam subsidio ex oppido veniri posset, B.C. 52 deiecto praesidio potitus loco, duas ibi legiones collocavit fossamque duplicem duodenum pedum a maioribus castris ad minora perduxit, ut tuto ab repentino hostium incursu etiam singuli commeare possent.

Conspiracy of Convictolitavis and Litaviccus.

Dum haec ad Gergoviam geruntur, Convictolitavis 37
Aeduus, cui magistratum adiudicatum a Caesare demonstravimus, sollicitatus ab Arvernis pecunia cum quibusdam adulescentibus colloquitur, quorum erat princeps Litaviccus atque eius fratres, amplissima familia nati adulescentes.
Cum his praemium communicat hortaturque, ut se 2
liberos et imperio natos meminerint. Unam esse 3
Aeduorum civitatem, quae certissimam Galliae victoriam detineat; eius auctoritate reliquas contineri; qua traducta locum consistendi Romanis in Gallia
non fore. Esse nonnullo se Caesaris beneficio affec- 4
tum, sic tamen, ut iustissimam apud eum causam
obtinuerit; sed plus communi libertati tribuere. Cur 5
enim potius Aedui de suo iure et de legibus ad Caesarem disceptatorem, quam Romani ad Aeduos
veniant? Celeriter adulescentibus et oratione magis- 6
tratus et praemio deductis, cum se vel principes eius consilii fore profiterentur, ratio perficiendi quaerebatur, quod civitatem temere ad suscipiendum bellum
adduci posse non confidebant. Placuit, ut Litaviccus 7
decem illis milibus, quae Caesari ad bellum mitterentur, praeficeretur atque ea ducenda curaret, fratresque eius ad Caesarem praecurrerent. Reliqua qua ratione agi placeat, constituunt.

A.U.C. 702 38 Litaviccus accepto exercitu, cum milia passuum circiter XXX ab Gergovia abesset, convocatis subito
2 militibus lacrimans, "Quo proficiscimur," inquit, "milites? Omnis noster equitatus, omnis nobilitas interiit; principes civitatis, Eporedorix et Viridomarus, insimulati proditionis, ab Romanis indicta causa
3 interfecti sunt. Haec ab ipsis cognoscite, qui ex ipsa caede fugerunt: nam ego, fratribus atque omnibus meis propinquis interfectis, dolore prohibeor, quae
4 gesta sunt, pronuntiare." Producuntur hi, quos ille edocuerat, quae dici vellet, atque eadem, quae Lita-
5 viccus pronuntiaverat, multitudini exponunt: equites Aeduorum interfectos, quod collocuti cum Arvernis dicerentur; ipsos se inter multitudinem militum
6 occultasse atque ex media caede fugisse. Conclamant Aedui et Litaviccum obsecrant, ut sibi consulat.
7 "Quasi vero," inquit ille, "consilii sit res, ac non necesse sit nobis Gergoviam contendere et cum
8 Arvernis nosmet coniungere. An dubitamus, quin nefario facinore admisso Romani iam ad nos interficiendos concurrant? Proinde, si quid in nobis animi est, persequamur eorum mortem, qui indignissime interierunt, atque hos latrones interficiamus."
9 Ostendit cives Romanos, qui eius praesidii fiducia una erant; magnum numerum frumenti commeatusque diripit, ipsos crudeliter excruciatos interficit.
10 Nuntios tota civitate Aeduorum dimittit, eodem mendacio de caede equitum et principum permovet; hortatur, ut simili ratione, atque ipse fecerit, suas iniurias persequantur.

39 Eporedorix Aeduus, summo loco natus adulescens

B.C. 52

Eporedorix informs C. of it.

et summae domi potentiae, et una Viridomarus, pari aetate et gratia, sed genere dispari, quem Caesar ab Divitiaco sibi traditum ex humili loco ad summam dignitatem perduxerat, in equitum numero convenerant nominatim ab eo evocati.
His erat inter se de principatu contentio, et in illa 2
magistratuum controversia alter pro Convictolitavi, alter pro Coto summis opibus pugnaverant. Ex his 3
Eporedorix cognito Litavicci consilio media fere nocte rem ad Caesarem defert; orat, ne patiatur civitatem pravis adulescentium consiliis ab amicitia populi Romani deficere, quod futurum provideat, si se tot hominum milia cum hostibus coniunxerint, quorum salutem neque propinqui neglegere neque civitas levi momento aestimare posset.

C. advances to meet the conspirators and exposes their deceit.

Magna affectus sollicitudine hoc nuntio Caesar, quod **40**
semper Aeduorum civitati praecipue indulserat, nulla interposita dubitatione legiones expeditas quattuor equitatumque omnem ex castris educit, nec fuit spatium tali 2
tempore ad contrahenda castra, quod res posita in celeritate videbatur; Gaium Fabium legatum cum 3
legionibus duabus castris praesidio relinquit. Fratres Litavicci cum comprehendi iussisset, paulo ante reperit ad hostes fugisse. Adhortatus milites, ne necessario 4
tempore itineris labore permoveantur, cupidissimis omnibus progressus milia passuum XXV, agmen Aeduorum conspicatus, immisso equitatu iter eorum moratur atque impedit interdicitque omnibus, ne quemquam interficiant. Eporedorigem et Viridomarum, quos 5
illi interfectos existimabant, inter equites versari

A.U.C. 702

6 suosque appellare iubet. His cognitis et Litavicci fraude perspecta Aedui manus tendere, deditionem significare et proiectis armis mortem deprecari in-
7 cipiunt. Litaviccus cum suis clientibus, quibus more Gallorum nefas est etiam in extrema fortuna deserere patronos, Gergoviam profugit.

Returns to Gergovia.

41 Caesar nuntiis ad civitatem Aeduorum missis, qui suo beneficio conservatos docerent, quos iure belli interficere potuisset, tribusque horis [noctis] exercitui ad quietem datis castra ad
2 Gergoviam movit. Medio fere itinere equites a Fabio missi, quanto res in periculo fuerit, exponunt. Summis copiis castra oppugnata demonstrant, cum crebro integri defessis succederent nostroque assiduo labore defatigarent, quibus propter magnitudinem castrorum perpetuo esset isdem in vallo perman-
3 endum. Multitudine sagittarum atque omnis generis telorum multos vulneratos; ad haec sustinenda
4 magno usui fuisse tormenta. Fabium discessu eorum duabus relictis portis obstruere ceteras pluteosque vallo addere et se in posterum diem similemque
5 casum apparare. His rebus cognitis Caesar summo studio militum ante ortum solis in castra pervenit.

Violent conduct of the Aedui.

42 Dum haec ad Gergoviam geruntur, Aedui primis nuntiis ab Litavicco acceptis nullum sibi ad cognoscendum spatium relinquunt.
2 Impellit alios avaritia, alios iracundia et temeritas, quae maxime illi hominum generi est innata, ut
3 levem auditionem habeant pro re comperta. Bona civium Romanorum diripiunt, caedes faciunt, in ser-
4 vitutem abstrahunt. Adiuvat rem proclinatam Con-

B.C. 52

victolitavis plebemque ad furorem impellit, ut facinore
admisso ad sanitatem reverti pudeat. Marcum Aris- 5
tium tribunum militum iter ad legionem facientem
fide data ex oppido Cabillono educunt; idem facere
cogunt eos, qui negotiandi causa ibi constiterant.
Hos continuo in itinere adorti omnibus impedimentis 6
exuunt; repugnantes diem noctemque obsident; multis
utrimque interfectis maiorem multitudinem armatorum
concitant.

They send deputies to C. who receives them mildly

Interim nuntio allato, omnes eorum milites in 43
potestate Caesaris teneri, concurrunt ad
Aristium, nihil publico factum consilio de-
monstrant; quaestionem de bonis direptis decernunt, 2
Litavicci fratrumque bona publicant, legatos ad Cae-
sarem sui purgandi gratia mittunt. Haec faciunt 3
reciperandorum suorum causa; sed contaminati faci-
nore et capti compendio ex direptis bonis, quod ea res
ad multos pertinebat, et timore poenae exterriti consi-
lia clam de bello inire incipiunt civitatesque reliquas
legationibus sollicitant. Quae tametsi Caesar intelle- 4
gebat, tamen, quam mitissime potest, legatos appellat:
nihil se propter inscientiam levitatemque vulgi gravius
de civitate iudicare neque de sua in Aeduos benevolentia
deminuere. Ipse maiorem Galliae motum exspectans, 5
ne ab omnibus civitatibus circumsisteretur, consilia
inibat, quemadmodum a Gergovia discederet ac rursus
omnem exercitum contraheret, ne profectio nata ab
timore defectionis similis fugae videretur.

44-53—SIEGE OF GERGOVIA.

Haec cogitanti accidere visa est facultas bene rei 44

A. U.C. 702 gerendae. Nam cum in minora castra operis perspiciendi causa venisset, animadvertit collem, qui ab hostibus tenebatur, nudatum hominibus, qui superiori-
2 bus diebus vix prae multitudine cerni poterat. Miratus quaerit ex perfugis causam, quorum magnus ad eum
3 cotidie numerus confluebat. Constabat inter omnes, quod iam ipse Caesar per exploratores cognoverat, dorsum esse eius iugi prope aequum, sed hunc silvestrem et angustum, qua esset aditus ad alteram
4 partem oppidi; vehementer huic illos loco timere, nec iam aliter sentire, uno colle ab Romanis occupato, si alterum amisissent, quin paene circumvallati atque
5 omni exitu et pabulatione interclusi viderentur: ad hunc muniendum omnes a Vercingetorige evocatos.

45 Hac re cognita Caesar mittit complures equitum turmas; eis de media nocte imperat, ut paulo tumul-
2 tuosius omnibus locis vagentur. Prima luce magnum numerum impedimentorum ex castris mulorumque produci deque his stramenta detrahi mulionesque cum cassidibus equitum specie ac simulatione collibus
3 circumvehi iubet. His paucos addit equites, qui latius ostentationis causa vagarentur. Longo circuitu
4 easdem omnes iubet petere regiones. Haec procul ex oppido videbantur, ut erat a Gergovia despectus in castra, neque tanto spatio, certi quid esset, explorari
5 poterat. Legionem unam eodem iugo mittit et paulum progressam inferiore constituit loco silvisque
6 occultat. Augetur Gallis suspicio atque omnes illo
7 ad munitionem copiae traducuntur. Vacua castra hostium Caesar conspicatus tectis insignibus suorum occultatisque signis militaribus raros milites, ne ex

oppido animadverterentur, ex maioribus castris in B.C.
minora traducit legatisque, quos singulis legionibus 52
praefecerat, quid fieri velit, ostendit; imprimis monet, 8
ut contineant milites, ne studio pugnandi aut spe
praedae longius progrediantur; quid iniquitas loci 9
habeat incommodi, proponit; hoc una celeritate posse
mutari; occasionis esse rem, non proelii. His rebus 10
expositis signum dat et ab dextra parte alio ascensu
eodem tempore Aeduos mittit.

Oppidi murus ab planicie atque initio ascensus 46
recta regione, si nullus amfractus intercederet, mille
ducentos passus aberat; quidquid huc circuitus ad 2
molliendum clivum accesserat, id spatium itineris
augebat. A medio fere colle in longitudinem, ut 3
natura montis ferebat, ex grandibus saxis sex pedum
murum, qui nostrorum impetum tardaret, praeduxe-
rant Galli atque inferiore omni spatio vacuo relicto
superiorem partem collis usque ad murum oppidi
densissimis castris compleverant. Milites dato signo 4
celeriter ad munitionem perveniunt eamque trans-
gressi trinis castris potiuntur; ac tanta fuit in castris 5
capiendis celeritas, ut Teutomatus, rex Nitiobrogum,
subito in tabernaculo oppressus, ut meridie conquie-
verat, superiore corporis parte nudata, vulnerato equo
vix se ex manibus praedantium militum eriperet.

Consecutus id, quod animo proposuerat, Caesar 47
receptui cani iussit, legionisque decimae, quacum erat,
continuo signa constituit. At reliquarum legionum 2
milites non exaudito sono tubae, quod satis magna
valles intercedebat, tamen ab tribunis militum legatis-
que, ut erat a Caesare praeceptum, retinebantur; sed 3

A.U.C. 702 elati spe celeris victoriae et hostium fuga et superiorum temporum secundis proeliis nihil adeo arduum sibi esse existimaverunt, quod non virtute consequi possent, neque finem prius sequendi fecerunt, quam
4 muro oppidi portisque appropinquarunt. Tum vero ex omnibus urbis partibus orto clamore, qui longius aberant, repentino tumultu perterriti, cum hostem intra portas esse existimarent, sese ex oppido eiece-
5 runt. Matresfamiliae de muro vestem argentumque iactabant et pectore nudo prominentes passis manibus obtestabantur Romanos, ut sibi parcerent neu, sicut Avarici fecissent, ne a mulieribus quidem atque in-
6 fantibus abstinerent; nonnullae de muris per manus
7 demissae sese militibus tradebant. L. Fabius, centurio legionis VIII, quem inter suos eo die dixisse constabat, excitari se Avaricensibus praemiis neque commissurum, ut prius quisquam murum ascenderet, tres suos nactus manipulares atque ab iis sublevatus murum ascendit; hos ipse rursus singulos exceptans in murum extulit.

48 Interim ii, qui ad alteram partem oppidi, ut supra demonstravimus, munitionis causa convenerant, primo exaudito clamore, inde etiam crebris nuntiis incitati, oppidum a Romanis teneri, praemissis equitibus magno
2 concursu eo contenderunt. Eorum ut quisque primus venerat, sub muro consistebat suorumque pugnantium
3 numerum augebat. Quorum cum magna multitudo convenisset, matresfamiliae, quae paulo ante Romanis de muro manus tendebant, suos obtestari et more Gallico passum capillum ostentare liberosque in con-
4 spectum proferre coeperunt. Erat Romanis nec loco

nec numero aequa contentio; simul et cursu et spatio pugnae fatigati non facile recentes atque integros sustinebant. B.C. 52

49 Caesar cum iniquo loco pugnari hostiumque augeri copias videret, praemetuens suis ad Titum Sextium legatum, quem minoribus castris praesidio reliquerat, misit, ut cohortes ex castris celeriter educeret et sub infimo colle ab dextro latere hostium constitueret,
2 ut, si nostros loco depulsos vidisset, quo minus libere hostes insequerentur, terreret.
3 Ipse paulum ex eo loco cum legione progressus, ubi constiterat, eventum pugnae exspectabat.

50 Cum acerrime comminus pugnaretur, hostes loco et numero, nostri virtute confiderent, subito sunt Aedui visi ab latere nostris aperto, quos Caesar ab dextra parte alio ascensu manus distinendae causa miserat.
2 Hi similitudine armorum vehementer nostros perterruerunt, ac tametsi dextris umeris exsertis animadvertebantur, quod insigne pacatorum esse consuerat, tamen id ipsum sui fallendi causa milites ab hostibus factum existimabant.
3 Eodem tempore Lucius Fabius centurio, quique una murum ascenderant, circumventi atque interfecti muro praecipitabantur.
4 Marcus Petronius, eiusdem legionis centurio, cum portas excidere conatus esset, a multitudine oppressus ac sibi desperans, multis iam vulneribus acceptis, manipularibus suis, qui illum secuti erant, "Quoniam," inquit, "me una vobiscum servare non possum, vestrae quidem certe vitae prospiciam, quos cupiditate gloriae adductus in periculum deduxi. Vos data facultate vobis consulite."
5 Simul in medios hostis

A.U.C. 702 irrupit duobusque interfectis reliquos a porta paulum
6 summovit. Conantibus auxiliari suis "Frustra," in-
quit, "meae vitae subvenire conamini, quem iam
sanguis viresque deficiunt. Proinde abite, dum est
facultas, vosque ad legionem recipite." Ita pugnans
post paulum concidit ac suis saluti fuit.

51 Nostri, cum undique premerentur, XLVI centurio-
nibus amissis deiecti sunt loco. Sed intolerantius
Gallos insequentes legio decima tardavit, quae pro
2 subsidio paulo aequiore loco constiterat. Hanc rursus
XIII legionis cohortes exceperunt, quae ex castris
minoribus eductae cum Tito Sextio legato ceperant
3 locum superiorem. Legiones, ubi primum planiciem
attigerunt, infestis contra hostes signis constiterunt.
4 Vercingetorix ab radicibus collis suos intra muni-
tiones reduxit. Eo die milites sunt paulo minus
septingenti desiderati.

52 Postero die Caesar contione advocata temeritatem
cupiditatemque militum reprehendit, quod sibi ipsi
iudicavissent, quo procedendum aut quid agendum
videretur, neque signo recipiendi dato constitissent
neque ab tribunis militum legatisque retineri potuis-
2 sent. Exposuit, quid iniquitas loci posset, quod ipse
ad Avaricum sensisset, cum sine duce et sine equitatu
deprehensis hostibus exploratam victoriam dimisisset,
ne parvum modo detrimentum in contentione propter
3 iniquitatem loci accideret. Quanto opere eorum
animi magnitudinem admiraretur, quos non castrorum
munitiones, non altitudo montis, non murus oppidi
tardare potuisset, tanto opere licentiam arrogantiam-
que reprehendere, quod plus se quam imperatorem

B.C. 52

de victoria atque exitu rerum sentire existimarent; nec minus se ab milite modestiam et continentiam 4 quam virtutem atque animi magnitudinem desiderare.

Hac habita contione et ad extremam orationem 53 confirmatis militibus, ne ob hanc causam animo permoverentur neu, quod iniquitas loci attulisset, id virtuti hostium tribuerent, eadem de profectione cogitans, quae ante senserat, legiones ex castris eduxit aciemque idoneo loco constituit. Cum Vercingetorix 2 nihilo magis in aequum locum descenderet, levi facto equestri proelio atque secundo in castra exercitum reduxit. Cum hoc idem postero die fecisset, satis 3 ad Gallicam ostentationem minuendam militumque animos confirmandos factum existimans in Aeduos movit castra. Ne tum quidem insecutis hostibus, 4 tertio die ad flumen Elaver pontes reficit eoque exercitum traduxit.

Defection of the Aedui,

Ibi a Viridomaro atque Eporedorige Aeduis appel- 54 latus discit, cum omni equitatu Litaviccum ad sollicitandos Aeduos profectum; opus esse ipsos antecedere ad confirmandam civitatem. Etsi multis iam rebus perfidiam Aeduorum 2 perspectam habebat atque horum discessu admaturari defectionem civitatis existimabat, tamen eos retinendos non constituit, ne aut inferre iniuriam videretur aut dare timoris aliquam suspicionem. Discedentibus 3 his breviter sua in Aeduos merita exposuit; quos et 4 quam humiles accepisset, compulsos in oppida, multatos agris, omnibus ereptis copiis, imposito stipendio, obsidibus summa cum contumelia extortis, et quam in fortunam quamque in amplitudinem deduxisset,

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ut non solum in pristinum statum redissent, sed
omnium temporum dignitatem et gratiam ante-
cessisse viderentur. His datis mandatis eos ab se
dimisit.

who massacre the garrison of Noviodunum.

55 Noviodunum erat oppidum Aeduorum ad ripas
2 Ligeris opportuno loco positum. Huc
Caesar omnes obsides Galliae, frumen-
tum, pecuniam publicam, suorum atque exercitus
3 impedimentorum magnam partem contulerat; huc
magnum numerum equorum huius belli causa in
4 Italia atque Hispania coëmptorum miserat. Eo cum
Eporedorix Viridomarusque venissent et de statu
civitatis cognovissent, Litaviccum Bibracti ab Aeduis
receptum, quod est oppidum apud eos maximae auc-
toritatis, Convictolitavim magistratum magnamque
partem senatus ad eum convenisse, legatos ad Vercin-
getorigem de pace et amicitia concilianda publice
missos, non praetermittendum tantum commodum
5 existimaverunt. Itaque interfectis Novioduni cus-
todibus, quique eo negotiandi causa convenerant,
6 pecuniam atque equos inter se partiti sunt, obsides
civitatum Bibracte ad magistratum deducendos cura-
7 verunt, oppidum, quod a se teneri non posse iudicabant,
8 ne cui esset usui Romanis, incenderunt, frumenti
quod subito potuerunt navibus avexerunt, reliquum
9 flumine atque incendio corruperunt. Ipsi ex finitimis
regionibus copias cogere, praesidia custodiasque ad
ripas Ligeris disponere equitatumque omnibus locis
iniciendi timoris causa ostentare coeperunt, si ab re
frumentaria Romanos excludere [aut adductos inopia
10 ex provincia expellere] possent. Quam ad spem

multum eos adiuvabat, quod Liger ex nivibus creverat, B.C. 52
ut omnino vado non posse transiri videretur.

Quibus rebus cognitis Caesar maturandum sibi **56**
censuit, si esset in perficiendis pontibus *C. hurries thither.*
periclitandum, ut prius, quam essent maiores eo
coactae copiae, dimicaret. Nam ne commutato con- 2
silio iter in provinciam converteret, ut nemo non tum
quidem necessario faciendum existimabat, cum in-
famia atque indignitas rei et oppositus mons Cevenna
viarumque difficultas impediebat, tum maxime, quod
abiuncto Labieno atque iis legionibus, quas una
miserat, vehementer timebat. Itaque admodum 3
magnis diurnis nocturnisque itineribus confectis
contra omnium opinionem ad Ligerem venit, vadoque 4
per equites invento pro rei necessitate opportuno, ut
brachia modo atque umeri ad sustinenda arma liberi
ab aqua esse possent, disposito equitatu, qui vim
fluminis refringeret, atque hostibus primo aspectu 5
perturbatis, incolumem exercitum traduxit, frumen-
tumque in agris et pecoris copiam nactus, repleto his
rebus exercitu iter in Senones facere instituit.

Dum haec apud Caesarem geruntur, Labienus eo **57**
supplemento, quod nuper ex Italia ve- *Labienus' campaign near Lutetia.*
nerat, relicto Agedinci, ut esset impedi-
mentis praesidio, cum quattuor legionibus Lutetiam
proficiscitur. Id est oppidum Parisiorum, quod 2
positum est in insula fluminis Sequanae. Cuius
adventu ab hostibus cognito, magnae ex finitimis
civitatibus copiae convenerunt. Summa imperii 3
traditur Camulogeno Aulerco, qui prope confectus
aetate tamen propter singularem scientiam rei mili-

A.U.C. 702 4 taris ad eum est honorem evocatus. Is cum animadvertisset, perpetuam esse paludem, quae influeret in Sequanam atque illum omnem locum magnopere impediret, hic consedit nostrosque transitu prohibere instituit.

58 Labienus primo vineas agere, cratibus atque aggere
2 paludem explere atque iter munire conabatur. Postquam id difficilius confieri animadvertit, silentio e castris tertia vigilia egressus eodem, quo venerat,
3 itinere Metiosedum pervenit. Id est oppidum Senonum, in insula Sequanae positum, ut paulo ante
4 de Lutetia diximus. Deprensis navibus circiter quinquaginta celeriterque coniunctis atque eo militibus iniectis et rei novitate perterritis oppidanis, quorum magna pars erat ad bellum evocata, sine con-
5 tentione oppido potitur. Refecto ponte, quem superioribus diebus hostes resciderant, exercitum traducit et secundo flumine ad Lutetiam iter facere coepit.
6 Hostes re cognita ab iis, qui Metiosedo fugerant, Lutetiam incendi pontesque eius oppidi rescindi iubent; ipsi profecti a palude ad ripas Sequanae e regione Lutetiae contra Labieni castra considunt.

59 Iam Caesar a Gergovia discessisse audiebatur, iam de Aeduorum defectione et secundo Galliae motu rumores afferebantur, Gallique in colloquiis interclusum itinere et Ligeri Caesarem inopia frumenti coactum in provinciam contendisse confirmabant.
2 Bellovaci autem defectione Aeduorum cognita, qui ante erant per se infideles, manus cogere atque
3 aperte bellum parare coeperunt. Tum Labienus tanta rerum commutatione longe aliud sibi capiendum con-

silium, atque antea senserat, intellegebat, neque iam, 4 B.C. 52
ut aliquid acquireret proelioque hostes lacesseret, sed
ut incolumem exercitum Agedincum reduceret, cogi-
tabat. Namque altera ex parte Bellovaci, quae 5
civitas in Gallia maximam habet opinionem virtutis,
instabant, alteram Camulogenus parato atque instructo
exercitu tenebat; tum legiones a praesidio atque
impedimentis interclusas maximum flumen distinebat.
Tantis subito difficultatibus obiectis ab animi virtute 6
auxilium petendum videbat.

Sub vesperum consilio convocato, cohortatus, ut ea, **60**
quae imperasset, diligenter industrieque adminis-
trarent, naves quas Metiosedo deduxerat, singulas
equitibus Romanis attribuit et prima confecta vigilia
quattuor milia passuum secundo flumine silentio
progredi ibique se exspectare iubet. Quinque cohortes, 2
quas minime firmas ad dimicandum esse existimabat,
castris praesidio relinquit; quinque eiusdem legionis 3
reliquas de media nocte cum omnibus impedimentis
adverso flumine magno tumultu proficisci imperat.
Conquirit etiam lintres; has magno sonitu remorum 4
incitatas in eandem partem mittit. Ipse post paulo
silentio egressus cum tribus legionibus eum locum
petit, quo naves appelli iusserat.

Eo cum esset ventum, exploratores hostium, ut **61**
omni fluminis parte erant dispositi, inopinantes, quod
magna subito erat coorta tempestas, ab nostris op-
primuntur; exercitus equitatusque equitibus Romanis 2
administrantibus, quos ei negotio praefecerat, celeriter
transmittitur. Uno fere tempore sub lucem hostibus 3
nuntiatur, in castris Romanorum praeter consuetu-

A.U.C. 702 dinem tumultuari, et magnum ire agmen adverso flumine sonitumque remorum in eadem parte exaudiri,
4 et paulo infra milites navibus transportari. Quibus rebus auditis, quod existimabant, tribus locis transire legiones atque omnes perturbatos defectione Aeduorum fugam parare, suas quoque copias in tres partes
5 distribuerunt. Nam praesidio e regione castrorum relicto et parva manu Metiosedum versus missa, quae tantum progrediatur, quantum naves processissent, reliquas copias contra Labienum duxerunt.

62 Prima luce et nostri omnes erant transportati et
2 hostium acies cernebatur. Labienus milites cohortatus, ut suae pristinae virtutis et secundissimorum proeliorum retinerent memoriam atque ipsum Caesarem, cuius ductu saepenumero hostes superassent, praesentem adesse existimarent, dat signum proelii.
3 Primo concursu ab dextro cornu, ubi septima legio constiterat, hostes pelluntur atque in fugam conici-
4 untur: ab sinistro, quem locum duodecima legio tenebat, cum primi ordines hostium transfixi telis concidissent, tamen acerrime reliqui resistebant, nec
5 dabat suspicionem fugae quisquam. Ipse dux hostium Camulogenus suis aderat atque eos cohortabatur.
6 Incerto nunc etiam exitu victoriae, cum septimae legionis tribunis esset nuntiatum, quae in sinistro cornu gererentur, post tergum hostium legionem
7 ostenderunt signaque intulerunt. Ne eo quidem tempore quisquam loco cessit, sed circumventi omnes interfectique sunt. Eandem fortunam tulit Camulo-
8 genus. At ii, qui in praesidio contra castra Labieni erant relicti, cum proelium commissum audissent,

B.C. 52

subsidio suis ierunt collemque ceperunt, neque nostrorum militum victorum impetum sustinere potuerunt. Sic cum suis fugientibus permixti, quos non 9
silvae montesque texerunt, ab equitatu sunt interfecti.
Hoc negotio confecto Labienus revertitur Agedincum, 10
ubi impedimenta totius exercitus relicta erant; inde die tertio cum omnibus copiis ad Caesarem pervenit.

General Council of Gauls at Bibracte.

Defectione Aeduorum cognita bellum augetur. 63
Legationes in omnes partes circummittuntur; quantum gratia, auctoritate, 2
pecunia valent, ad sollicitandas civitates nituntur;
nacti obsides, quos Caesar apud eos deposuerat, 3
horum supplicio dubitantes territant. Petunt a 4
Vercingetorige Aedui, ut ad se veniat rationesque
belli gerendi communicet. Re impetrata contendunt, 5
ut ipsis summa imperii tradatur, et re in controversiam deducta totius Galliae concilium Bibracte
indicitur. Eodem conveniunt undique frequentes. 6
Multitudinis suffragiis res permittitur; ad unum
omnes Vercingetorigem probant imperatorem. Ab 7
hoc concilio Remi, Lingones, Treveri afuerunt, illi, quod amicitiam Romanorum sequebantur, Treveri, quod aberant longius et ab Germanis premebantur, quae fuit causa, quare toto abessent bello et neutris
auxilia mitterent. Magno dolore Aedui ferunt se 8
deiectos principatu, queruntur fortunae commutationem et Caesaris indulgentiam in se requirunt, neque tamen suscepto bello suum consilium ab reliquis
separare audent. Inviti summae spei adulescentes 9
Eporedorix et Viridomarus Vercingetorigi parent.

Ipse imperat reliquis civitatibus obsides diemque 64

A.U.C. 702 huic rei constituit; omnes equites, XV milia numero,
2 celeriter convenire iubet. Peditatu, quem antea habuerat, se fore contentum dicit, neque fortunam temptaturum aut in acie dimicaturum, sed, quoniam abundet equitatu, perfacile esse factu frumentationi-
3 bus pabulationibusque Romanos prohibere, aequo modo animo sua ipsi frumenta corrumpant aedificiaque incendant, qua rei familiaris iactura perpetuum
4 imperium libertatemque se consequi videant. His constitutis rebus Aeduis Segusiavisque, qui sunt finitimi provinciae, decem milia peditum imperat;
5 huc addit equites octingentos. His praeficit fratrem Eporedorigis bellumque inferri Allobrogibus iubet.
6 Altera ex parte Gabalos proximosque pagos Arvernorum in Helvios, item Rutenos Cadurcosque ad fines
7 Volcarum Arecomicorum depopulandos mittit. Nihilo minus clandestinis nuntiis legationibusque Allobrogas sollicitat, quorum mentes nondum ab superiore bello
8 resedisse sperabat. Horum principibus pecunias, civitati autem imperium totius provinciae pollicetur.

65 Ad hos omnes casus provisa erant praesidia cohortium duarum et viginti, quae ex ipsa provincia ab Lucio Caesare legato ad omnes partes opponeban-
2 tur. Helvii sua sponte cum finitimis proelio congressi pelluntur et Gaio Valerio Donnotauro, Caburi filio, principe civitatis, compluribusque aliis interfectis
3 intra oppida ac muros compelluntur. Allobroges crebris ad Rhodanum dispositis praesidiis magna
4 cum cura et diligentia suos fines tuentur. Caesar, quod hostes equitatu superiores esse intellegebat et interclusis omnibus itineribus nulla re ex provincia

B.C. 52

atque Italia sublevari poterat, trans Rhenum in Germaniam mittit ad eas civitates, quas superioribus annis pacaverat, equitesque ab his arcessit et levis armaturae pedites, qui inter eos proeliari consuerant.
Eorum adventu, quod minus idoneis equis utebantur, 5
a tribunis militum reliquisque equitibus Romanis atque evocatis equos sumit Germanisque distribuit.

Speech of Vercingetorix.

Interea, dum haec geruntur, hostium copiae ex 66
Arvernis equitesque, qui toti Galliae erant imperati, conveniunt. Magno 2
horum coacto numero, cum Caesar in Sequanos per extremos Lingonum fines iter faceret, quo facilius subsidium provinciae ferri posset, circiter milia 3
passuum decem ab Romanis trinis castris Vercingetorix consedit convocatisque ad concilium praefectis equitum venisse tempus victoriae demonstrat: fugere in provinciam Romanos Galliaque excedere. Id sibi 4
ad praesentem obtinendam libertatem satis esse; ad reliqui temporis pacem atque otium parum profici: maioribus enim coactis copiis reversuros neque finem bellandi facturos. Proinde agmine impeditos adoriantur. Si pedites suis auxilium ferant atque in eo 5
morentur, iter facere non posse; si, id quod magis futurum confidat, relictis impedimentis suae saluti consulant, et usu rerum necessariarum et dignitate spoliatum iri. Nam de equitibus hostium, quin nemo 6
eorum progredi modo extra agmen audeat, ipsos quidem non debere dubitare. Id quo maiore faciant animo, copias se omnes pro castris habiturum et terrori hostibus futurum. Conclamant equites, sanc- 7
tissimo iureiurando confirmari oportere, ne tecto

A.U.C. 702 recipiatur, ne ad liberos, ne ad parentes, ad uxorem aditum habeat, qui non bis per agmen hostium perequitasset.

67 Probata re atque omnibus iureiurando adactis, postero die in tres partes distributo equitatu duae se acies ab duobus lateribus ostendunt, una a primo
2 agmine iter impedire coepit. Qua re nuntiata Caesar suum quoque equitatum tripertito divisum contra hostem ire iubet. Pugnatur

C. defeats their cavalry.

3 una omnibus in partibus. Consistit agmen; impedi-
4 menta intra legiones recipiuntur. Si qua in parte nostri laborare aut gravius premi videbantur, eo signa inferri Caesar aciemque constitui iubebat; quae res et hostes ad insequendum tardabat et nostros spe
5 auxilii confirmabat. Tandem Germani ab dextro latere summum iugum nancti hostes loco depellunt; fugientes usque ad flumen, ubi Vercingetorix cum pedestribus copiis consederat, persequuntur compluresque
6 que interficiunt. Qua re animadversa reliqui, ne circumirentur, veriti se fugae mandant. Omnibus
7 locis fit caedes. Tres nobilissimi Aedui capti ad Caesarem perducuntur: Cotus, praefectus equitum, qui controversiam cum Convictolitavi proximis comitiis habuerat, et Cavarillus, qui post defectionem Litavicci pedestribus copiis praefuerat, et Eporedorix, quo duce ante adventum Caesaris Aedui cum Sequanis bello contenderant.

68 Fugato omni equitatu, Vercingetorix copias, ut pro castris collocaverat, reduxit protinusque Alesiam, quod est oppidum Mandubiorum, iter facere coepit celeriterque impedimenta ex

They march to Alesia.

castris educi et se subsequi iussit. Caesar impedi- 2 B.C. 52
mentis in proximum collem deductis, duabus legionibus praesidio relictis secutus, quantum diei tempus est passum, circiter tribus milibus hostium ex novissimo agmine interfectis altero die ad Alesiam castra
fecit. Perspecto urbis situ perterritisque hostibus, 3
quod equitatu, qua maxime parte exercitus confidebant, erant pulsi, adhortatus ad laborem milites circumvallare instituit.

CC. 69-89.—SIEGE OF ALESIA.

Ipsum erat oppidum Alesia in colle summo admo- 69
dum edito loco, ut nisi obsidione expugnari non
posse videretur; cuius collis radices duo duabus 2
ex partibus flumina subluebant. Ante id oppidum 3
planicies circiter milia passuum III in longitudinem
patebat; reliquis ex omnibus partibus colles mediocri 4
interiecto spatio pari altitudinis fastigio oppidum
cingebant. Sub muro, quae pars collis ad orientem 5
solem spectabat, hunc omnem locum copiae Gallorum compleverant fossamque et maceriam sex in altitu-
dinem pedum praeduxerant. Eius munitionis, quae 6
ab Romanis instituebatur, circuitus XI milia passuum
tenebat. Castra opportunis locis erant posita ibique 7
castella viginti tria facta, quibus in castellis interdiu stationes ponebantur, ne qua subito eruptio fieret; haec eadem noctu excubitoribus ac firmis praesidiis tenebantur.

Opere instituto fit equestre proelium in ea planicie, 70
quam intermissam collibus tria milia passuum in longitudinem patere supra demonstravimus. Summa

A.U.C. 702
2 vi ab utrisque contenditur. Laborantibus nostris
Caesar Germanos submittit legionesque pro castris
constituit [ne qua subito irruptio ab hostium peditatu
3 fiat]. Praesidio legionum addito nostris animus
augetur; hostes in fugam coniecti se ipsi multitudine
impediunt atque angustioribus portis relictis coacervan-
4 tur. Germani acrius usque ad munitiones sequuntur.
5 Fit magna caedes; nonnulli relictis equis fossam
transire et maceriam transcendere conantur. Paulum
legiones Caesar, quas pro vallo constituerat, promo-
6 veri iubet. Non minus, qui intra munitiones erant,
perturbantur Galli, veniri ad se confestim existimantes
ad arma conclamant; nonnulli perterriti in oppidum
7 irrumpunt. Vercingetorix iubet portas claudi, ne
castra nudentur. Multis interfectis, compluribus
equis captis Germani sese recipiunt.

71 Vercingetorix, priusquam munitiones ab Romanis
perficiantur, consilium capit, omnem ab se equitatum
2 noctu dimittere. Discedentibus mandat, ut suam
quisque eorum civitatem adeat omnesque, qui per
3 aetatem arma ferre possint, ad bellum cogant. Sua
in illos merita proponit obtestaturque, ut suae salutis
rationem habeant, neu se optime de communi liber-
tate meritum hostibus in cruciatum dedant. Quod
si indiligentiores fuerint, milia hominum delecta
4 octoginta una secum interitura demonstrat. Ratione
inita se exigue dierum XXX habere frumentum, sed
5 paulo etiam longius tolerari posse parcendo. His
datis mandatis, qua opus erat intermissum, secunda
6 vigilia silentio equitatum mittit. Frumentum omne
ad se referri iubet; capitis poenam iis, qui non

paruerint, constituit: pecus, cuius magna erat copia 7 B.C. 52
ab Mandubiis compulsa, viritim distribuit; frumentum parce et paulatim metiri instituit. Copias omnes, 8
quas pro oppido collocaverat, in oppidum recepit.
His rationibus auxilia Galliae exspectare et bellum 9
parat administrare.

Quibus rebus cognitis ex perfugis et captivis Caesar 72
haec genera munitionis instituit. Fossam pedum viginti directis lateribus duxit, ut eius fossae solum tantundem pateret, quantum summae fossae labra distarent. Reliquas omnes munitiones ab ea fossa 2
pedes quadringentos reduxit, id hoc consilio, quoniam tantum esset necessario spatium complexus nec facile totum corpus corona militum cingeretur, ne de improviso aut noctu ad munitiones hostium multitudo advolaret, aut interdiu tela in nostros operi destinatos conicere possent. Hoc intermisso spatio duas fossas 3
quindecim pedes latas, eadem altitudine perduxit; quarum interiorem campestribus ac demissis locis aqua ex flumine derivata complevit. Post eas agge- 4
rem ac vallum XII pedum exstruxit. Huic loricam pinnasque adiecit grandibus cervis eminentibus ad commissuras pluteorum atque aggeris, qui ascensum hostium tardarent, et turres toto opere circumdedit, quae pedes LXXX inter se distarent.

Erat eodem tempore et materiari et frumentari et 73
tantas munitiones fieri necesse deminutis nostris copiis, quae longius ab castris progrediebantur; ac nonnumquam opera nostra Galli temptare atque eruptionem ex oppido pluribus portis summa vi facere conabantur. Quare ad haec rursus opera addendum 2

A.U.C. 702 Caesar putavit, quo minore numero militum muni-
tiones defendi possent. Itaque truncis arborum
admodum firmis ramis abscisis atque horum delibratis
ac praeacutis cacuminibus perpetuae fossae quinos
3 pedes altae ducebantur. Huc illi stipites demissi et
ab infimo revincti, ne revelli possent, ab ramis emine-
4 bant. Quini erant ordines coniuncti inter se atque
implicati; quo qui intraverant, se ipsi acutissimis
5 vallis induebant. Hos cippos appellabant. Ante
quos obliquis ordinibus in quincuncem dispositis
scrobes tres in altitudinem pedes fodiebantur pau-
6 latim angustiore ad infimum fastigio. Huc teretes
stipites feminis crassitudine ab summo praeacuti et
praeusti demittebantur ita, ut non amplius digitis
7 quattuor ex terra eminerent; simul confirmandi et
stabiliendi causa singuli ab infimo solo pedes terra
exculcabantur; reliqua pars scrobis ad occultandas
8 insidias viminibus ac virgultis integebatur. Huius
generis octoni ordines ducti ternos inter se pedes
distabant. Id ex similitudine floris lilium appella-
9 bant. Ante haec taleae pedem longae ferreis hamis
infixis totae in terram infodiebantur mediocribusque
intermissis spatiis omnibus locis disserebantur, quos
stimulos nominabant.

74 His rebus perfectis, regiones secutus quam potuit
aequissimas pro loci natura XIV milia passuum com-
plexus pares eiusdem generis munitiones, diversas ab
his, contra exteriorem hostem perfecit, ut ne magna
quidem multitudine, si ita accidat, [eius discessu]
2 munitionum praesidia circumfundi possent; ac ne
cum periculo ex castris egredi cogatur, dierum triginta

pabulum frumentumque habere omnes convectum iubet. B.C. 52

75 Dum haec apud Alesiam geruntur, Galli concilio principum indicto non omnes eos, qui arma ferre possent, ut censuit Vercingetorix, convocandos statuunt, sed certum numerum cuique ex civitate imperandum, ne tanta multitudine confusa nec moderari nec discernere suos nec frumentandi rationem habere possent. 2 Imperant Aeduis atque eorum clientibus, Segusiavis, Ambivaretis, Aulercis Brannovicibus, Brannoviis, milia XXXV; parem numerum Arvernis adiunctis Eleutetis, Cadurcis, Gabalis, Vellavis, qui sub imperio Arvernorum esse consuerunt; 3 Sequanis, Senonibus, Biturigibus, Santonis, Rutenis, Carnutibus duodena milia; Bellovacis X; octona Pictonibus et Turonis et Parisiis et Helvetiis; Ambianis, Mediomatricis, Petrocoriis, Nerviis, Morinis, Nitiobrogibus quina milia; Aulercis Cenomanis totidem; Atrebatibus IV; Veliocassis totidem; Lemovicibus et Aulercis Eburovicibus terna; Rauricis et Boiis bina; 4 XXX universis civitatibus, quae Oceanum attingunt quaeque eorum consuetudine Aremoricae appellantur, quo sunt in numero Curiosolites, Redones, Ambibarii, Caletes, Osismi, Lexovii, Venelli. 5 Ex his Bellovaci suum numerum non compleverunt, quod se suo nomine atque arbitrio cum Romanis bellum gesturos dicebant neque cuiusquam imperio obtemperaturos; rogati tamen ab Commio pro eius hospitio duo milia una miserunt.

76 Huius opera Commii, ut antea demonstravimus, fideli atque utili superioribus annis erat usus in Britannia Caesar; quibus ille pro meritis civitatem eius

A.U.C. 702 immunem esse iusserat, iura legesque reddiderat atque
2 ipsi Morinos attribuerat. Tamen tanta universae Galliae consensio fuit libertatis vindicandae et pristinae belli laudis recuperandae, ut neque beneficiis neque amicitiae memoria moverentur, omnesque et animo et
3 opibus in id bellum incumberent. Coactis equitum VIII milibus et peditum circiter CCL, haec in Aeduorum finibus recensebantur, numerusque inibatur, praefecti constituebantur. Commio Atrebati, Viridomaro et Eporedorigi Aeduis, Vercassivellauno Arverno, con-
4 sobrino Vercingetorigis, summa imperii traditur. His delecti ex civitatibus attribuuntur, quorum consilio
5 bellum administraretur. Omnes alacres et fiduciae pleni ad Alesiam proficiscuntur, neque erat omnium
6 quisquam, qui aspectum modo tantae multitudinis sustineri posse arbitraretur, praesertim ancipiti proelio, cum ex oppido eruptione pugnaretur, foris tantae copiae equitatus peditatusque cernerentur.

77 At ii, qui Alesiae obsidebantur, praeterita die, qua auxilia suorum exspectaverant, consumpto omni frumento, inscii quid in Aeduis gereretur, concilio coacto
2 de exitu suarum fortunarum consultabant. Ac variis dictis sententiis, quarum pars deditionem, pars, dum vires suppeterent, eruptionem censebat, non praetereunda oratio Critognati videtur propter eius singularem
3 et nefariam crudelitatem. Hic, summo in Arvernis ortus loco et magnae habitus auctoritatis, "Nihil," inquit, "de eorum sententia dicturus sum, qui turpissimam servitutem deditionis nomine appellant, neque hos habendos civium loco neque ad consilium adhibendos
4 censeo. Cum his mihi res sit, qui eruptionem pro-

bant; quorum in consilio omnium vestrum consensu B.C.
pristinae residere virtutis memoria videtur. Animi 5 52
est ista mollitia, non virtus, paulisper inopiam ferre
non posse. Qui se ultro morti offerant, facilius re-
periuntur, quam qui dolorem patienter ferant. Atque 6
ego hanc sententiam probarem—tantum apud me
dignitas potest—si nullam praeterquam vitae nostrae
iacturam fieri viderem; sed in consilio capiendo om- 7
nem Galliam respiciamus, quam ad nostrum auxilium
concitavimus. Quid hominum milibus LXXX uno 8
loco interfectis propinquis consanguineisque nostris
animi fore existimatis, si paene in ipsis cadaveribus
proelio decertare cogentur? Nolite hos vestro auxilio 9
exspoliare, qui vestrae salutis causa suum periculum
neglexerunt, nec stultitia ac temeritate vestra aut
animi imbecillitate omnem Galliam prosternere et
perpetuae servituti subicere. An, quod ad diem non 10
venerunt, de eorum fide constantiaque dubitatis?
Quid ergo? Romanos in illis ulterioribus munitionibus
animine causa cotidie exerceri putatis? Si illorum 11
nuntiis confirmari non potestis omni aditu praesepto,
his utimini testibus, appropinquare eorum adventum;
cuius rei timore exterriti diem noctemque in opere
versantur. Quid ergo mei consilii est? Facere, quod 12
nostri maiores nequaquam pari bello Cimbrorum Teu-
tonumque fecerunt; qui in oppida compulsi ac simili
inopia subacti eorum corporibus, qui aetate ad bellum
inutiles videbantur, vitam toleraverunt neque se hos-
tibus tradiderunt. Cuius rei si exemplum non habe- 13
remus, tamen libertatis causa institui et posteris prodi
pulcherrimum iudicarem. Nam quid illi simile bello 14

A.U.C. 702 fuit? Depopulata Gallia Cimbri magnaque illata
calamitate finibus quidem nostris aliquando exces-
serunt atque alias terras petierunt; iura, leges, agros,
15 libertatem nobis reliquerunt. Romani vero quid
petunt aliud aut quid volunt, nisi invidia adducti,
quos fama nobiles potentesque bello cognoverunt,
horum in agris civitatibusque considere atque his
aeternam iniungere servitutem? Neque enim ulla
16 alia condicione bella gesserunt. Quod si ea, quae in
longinquis nationibus geruntur, ignoratis, respicite
finitimam Galliam, quae in provinciam redacta, iure
et legibus commutatis, securibus subiecta perpetua
premitur servitute."

78 Sententiis dictis constituunt, ut ii, qui valetudine
aut aetate inutiles sunt bello, oppido excedant atque
omnia prius experiantur, quam ad Critognati senten-
2 tiam descendant; illo tamen potius utendum consilio,
si res cogat atque auxilia morentur, quam aut dedi-
3 tionis aut pacis subeundam condicionem. Mandubii,
qui eos oppido receperant, cum liberis atque uxoribus
4 exire coguntur. Hi cum ad munitiones Romanorum
accessissent, flentes omnibus precibus orabant, ut se
5 in servitutem receptos cibo iuvarent. At Caesar dis-
positis in vallo custodibus recipi prohibebat.

79 Interea Commius reliquique duces, quibus summa
imperii permissa erat, cum omnibus copiis ad Alesiam
perveniunt et colle exteriore occupato non longius
mille passibus ab nostris munitionibus considunt.
2 Postero die equitatu ex castris educto omnem eam
planiciem, quam in longitudinem tria milia passuum
patere demonstravimus, complent pedestresque copias

paulum ab eo loco abditas in locis superioribus con- B.C. 52
stituunt. Erat ex oppido Alesia despectus in campum. 3
Concurrunt his auxiliis visis; fit gratulatio inter eos
atque omnium animi ad laetitiam excitantur. Itaque 4
productis copiis ante oppidum considunt et proximam fossam cratibus integunt atque aggere explent seque ad eruptionem atque omnes casus comparant.

Caesar omni exercitu ad utramque partem muni- 80
tionum disposito, ut, si usus veniat, suum quisque locum teneat et noverit, equitatum ex castris educi
et proelium committi iubet. Erat ex omnibus castris, 2
quae summum undique iugum tenebant, despectus, atque omnes milites intenti pugnae proventum ex-
spectabant. Galli inter equites raros sagittarios ex- 3
peditosque levis armaturae interiecerant, qui suis cedentibus auxilio succurrerent et nostrorum equitum
impetus sustinerent. Ab his complures de improviso 4
vulnerati proelio excedebant. Cum suos pugna superiores esse Galli confiderent et nostros multitudine premi viderent, ex omnibus partibus et ii, qui munitionibus continebantur, et hi, qui ad auxilium convenerant, clamore et ululatu suorum animos confirm-
abant. Quod in conspectu omnium res gerebatur 5
neque recte ac turpiter factum celari poterat, utrosque et laudis cupiditas et timor ignominiae ad virtutem
excitabat. Cum a meridie prope ad solis occasum 6
dubia victoria pugnaretur, Germani una in parte confertis turmis in hostes impetum fecerunt eosque
propulerunt; quibus in fugam coniectis sagittarii cir- 7
cumventi interfectique sunt. Item ex reliquis partibus 8
nostri cedentes usque ad castra insecuti sui colligendi

A.U.C. 702 9 facultatem non dederunt. At ii, qui ab Alesia processerant, maesti prope victoria desperata se in oppidum receperunt.

81 Uno die intermisso Galli atque hoc spatio magno cratium, scalarum, harpagonum numero effecto, media nocte silentio ex castris egressi ad campestres muni-
2 tiones accedunt. Subito clamore sublato, qua significatione, qui in oppido obsidebantur, de suo adventu cognoscere possent, crates proicere, fundis, sagittis, lapidibus nostros de vallo proturbare reliquaque, quae ad oppugnationem pertinent, parant administrare.
3 Eodem tempore clamore exaudito dat tuba signum
4 suis Vercingetorix atque ex oppido educit. Nostri, ut superioribus diebus, ut cuique erat locus attributus, ad munitiones accedunt; fundis librilibus sudibusque, quas in opere disposuerant, ac glandibus Gallos pro-
5 terrent. Prospectu tenebris adempto multa utrimque vulnera accipiuntur. Complura tormentis tela coni-
6 ciuntur. At Marcus Antonius et Gaius Trebonius legati, quibus hae partes ad defendendum obvenerant, qua ex parte nostros premi intellexerant, his auxilio ex ulterioribus castellis deductos submittebant.

82 Dum longius ab munitione aberant Galli, plus multitudine telorum proficiebant; posteaquam propius successerunt, aut se stimulis inopinantes induebant aut in scrobes delati transfodiebantur aut ex vallo ac
2 turribus traiecti pilis muralibus interibant. Multis undique vulneribus acceptis nulla munitione perrupta, cum lux appeteret, veriti, ne ab latere aperto ex superioribus castris eruptione circumvenirentur, se
3 ad suos receperunt. At interiores, dum ea, quae a

Vercingetorige ad eruptionem praeparata erant, pro- B.C.
ferunt, priores fossas explent, diutius in his rebus 4 52
administrandis morati prius suos discessisse cognoverunt, quam munitionibus appropinquarent. Ita re infecta in oppidum reverterunt.

Bis magno cum detrimento repulsi Galli, quid 83
agant, consulunt; locorum peritos adhibent; ex his superiorum castrorum situs munitionesque cognoscunt.
Erat a septentrionibus collis, quem propter magnitudi- 2
nem circuitus opere circumplecti non potuerant nostri: necessario paene iniquo loco et leniter declivi castra
fecerunt. Haec Gaius Antistius Reginus et Gaius 3
Caninius Rebilus legati cum duabus legionibus obtine-
bant. Cognitis per exploratores regionibus duces 4
hostium LX milia ex omni numero deligunt earum civitatum, quae maximam virtutis opinionem habe-
bant; quid quoque pacto agi placeat, occulte inter se 5
constituunt; adeundi tempus definiunt, cum meridies
esse videatur. His copiis Vercassivellaunum Arver- 6
num, unum ex quattuor ducibus, propinquum Ver-
cingetorigis, praeficiunt. Ille ex castris prima vigilia 7
egressus prope confecto sub lucem itinere post montem se occultavit militesque ex nocturno labore sese
reficere iussit. Cum iam meridies appropinquare 8
videretur, ad ea castra, quae supra demonstravimus, contendit; eodemque tempore equitatus ad campestres munitiones accedere et reliquae copiae pro castris sese ostendere coeperunt.

Vercingetorix ex arce Alesiae suos conspicatus ex 84
oppido egreditur; cratis, longurios, musculos, falces reliquaque, quae eruptionis causa paraverat, profert.

A.U.C. 702 2 Pugnatur uno tempore omnibus locis, atque omnia temptantur; quae minime visa pars firma est, huc
3 concurritur. Romanorum manus tantis munitionibus
4 distinetur nec facile pluribus locis occurrit. Multum ad terrendos nostros valet clamor, qui post tergum pugnantibus exstitit, quod suum periculum in aliena
5 vident salute constare; omnia enim plerumque, quae absunt, vehementius hominum mentes perturbant.

85 Caesar idoneum locum nactus, quid quaque ex parte geratur, cognoscit; laborantibus submittit.
2 Utrisque ad animum occurrit, unum esse illud
3 tempus, quo maxime contendi conveniat: Galli, nisi perfregerint munitiones, de omni salute desperant; Romani, si rem obtinuerint, finem laborum omnium
4 exspectant. Maxime ad superiores munitiones laboratur, quo Vercassivellaunum missum demonstravimus. Iniquum loci ad declivitatem fastigium magnum
5 habet momentum. Alii tela coniciunt, alii testudine facta subeunt; defatigatis in vicem integri succedunt.
6 Agger ab universis in munitionem coniectus et ascensum dat Gallis et ea, quae in terra occultaverant Romani, contegit; nec iam arma nostris nec vires suppetunt.

86 His rebus cognitis Caesar Labienum cum cohortibus
2 sex subsidio laborantibus mittit; imperat, si sustinere non posset, deductis cohortibus eruptione pugnaret;
3 id nisi necessario ne faciat. Ipse adit reliquos, cohortatur, ne labori succumbant; omnium superiorum dimicationum fructum in eo die atque hora docet
4 consistere. Interiores desperatis campestribus locis propter magnitudinem munitionum loca praerupta ex-

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scensu temptant; huc ea, quae paraverant, conferunt.
Multitudine telorum ex turribus propugnantes detur- 5
bant, aggere et cratibus fossas explent, falcibus vallum
ac loricam rescindunt.

Mittit primo Brutum adulescentem cum cohortibus 87
Caesar, post cum aliis Gaium Fabium legatum;
postremo ipse, cum vehementius pugnaretur, integros 2
subsidio adducit. Restituto proelio ac repulsis hosti- 3
bus eo, quo Labienum miserat, contendit; cohortes 4
quattuor ex proximo castello deducit, equitum partem
se sequi, partem circumire exteriores munitiones et
ab tergo hostes adoriri iubet. Labienus, postquam 5
neque aggeres neque fossae vim hostium sustinere
poterant, coactis una XL cohortibus, quas ex proximis
praesidiis deductas fors obtulit, Caesarem per nuntios
facit certiorem, quid faciendum existimet. Accelerat
Caesar, ut proelio intersit.

Eius adventu ex colore vestitus cognito, quo insigni 88
in proeliis uti consuerat, turmisque equitum et co-
hortibus visis, quas se sequi iusserat, ut de locis
superioribus haec declivia et devexa cernebantur,
hostes proelium committunt. Utrimque clamore 2
sublato, excipit rursus ex vallo atque omnibus muni-
tionibus clamor. Nostri, omissis pilis, gladiis rem 3
gerunt. Repente post tergum equitatus cernitur;
cohortes aliae appropinquant. Hostes terga vertunt;
fugientibus equites occurrunt. Fit magna caedes.
Sedulius, dux et princeps Lemovicum, occiditur; 4
Vercassivellaunus Arvernus vivus in fuga compre-
henditur; signa militaria septuaginta quattuor ad
Caesarem referuntur; pauci ex tanto numero se

A.U.C. 702

5 incolumes in castra recipiunt. Conspicati ex oppido
caedem et fugam suorum desperata salute copias a
munitionibus reducunt. Fit protinus hac re audita
6 ex castris Gallorum fuga. Quod nisi crebris subsidiis
ac totius diei labore milites essent defessi, omnes
7 hostium copiae deleri potuissent. De media nocte
missus equitatus novissimum agmen consequitur;
magnus numerus capitur atque interficitur, reliqui
ex fuga in civitates discedunt.

V. surrenders.

89 Postero die Vercingetorix concilio convocato id
bellum se suscepisse non suarum necessi-
2 tatium sed communis libertatis causa demonstrat, et
quoniam sit fortunae cedendum, ad utramque rem se
illis offerre, seu morte sua Romanis satisfacere seu
3 vivum tradere velint. Mittuntur de his rebus ad
Caesarem legati. Iubet arma tradi, principes pro-
4 duci. Ipse in munitione pro castris consedit; eo
duces producuntur. Vercingetorix deditur, arma pro-
5 iciuntur. Reservatis Aeduis atque Arvernis, si per
eos civitates reciperare posset, ex reliquis captivis
toto exercitui capita singula praedae nomine dis-
tribuit.

Winter quarters of Roman legions.

90 His rebus confectis in Aeduos proficiscitur; civita-
2 tem recipit. Eo legati ab Arvernis
missi, quae imperaret, se facturos polli-
3 centur. Imperat magnum numerum obsidum. Le-
giones in hiberna mittit. Captivorum circiter XX
4 milia Aeduis Arvernisque reddit. T. Labienum dua-
bus cum legionibus et equitatu in Sequanos proficisci
iubet; huic M. Sempronium Rutilum attribuit.
5 Gaium Fabium legatum et Lucium Minucium Basilum

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cum legionibus duabus in Remis collocat, ne quam ab finitimis Bellovacis calamitatem accipiant. 6 Gaium Antistium Reginum in Ambivaretos, Titum Sextium in Bituriges, Gaium Caninium Rebilum in Rutenos cum singulis legionibus mittit. 7 Quintum Tullium Ciceronem et Publium Sulpicium Cabilloni et Matiscone in Aeduis ad Ararim rei frumentariae causa collocat. Ipse Bibracte hiemare constituit. 8 His [litteris] cognitis, Romae dierum viginti supplicatio redditur.

Supplicatio granted.

NOTES.

BOOK I.

CH. 1.—1. **omnis**, *i.e.*, 'in its widest sense'; including the whole land between the Rhine, Alps, and Pyrenees, with the exception of 'the province,' which had been subdued B.C. 121. The order of the words is expressive: 'Gaul is, if you take it in its entirety, divided,' etc. Cp. vi. 16. 1, *natio est omnis Gallorum...dedita religionibus*, with 12. 4, *omnis civitas Helvetia divisa est*. **aliam** = *alteram*, an usage rare before Livy, common after him. Cic. *Brut.* 95, *genera Asiaticae dictionis duo sunt; unum,...aliud. De Divinatione* i. 54. 123, *alia via* (where only two ways are in question); *aliis=caeteris*, 41. 4. **Galli**, so *Gallia* in § 6=merely Keltic Gaul; cp. 30. 1, 31. 3; ii. 1. 2, 3. 1, etc.

2. **Matrona et Sequana**: the division is a rough one, leaving nearly 200 Roman miles of frontier unaccounted for.

3. **cultu**, 'manner of life,' a neutral word more closely defined by the preciser 'refinement,' 'civilization.' That *cultus* had not this meaning is shown by viii. 25. 2, *cultu et feritate non multum a Germanis differebat*. **provinciae**, concisely used = its inhabitants. **longissime absunt**, to be taken literally. This civilization the Province owed largely to the Greek traders of Massilia (Marseilles) and the coasts round the mouth of the Rhone. This town 'after the fall of Carthage was the largest centre for the trade and manufactures of the west,' Kiepert, § 255. **pertinent**, 'tend,' *Bell. C.* i. 9. 1, *ad levandas iniurias pertinere videbantur*. **incolunt**, 'dwell,' intr., as 5. 4, 54. 1, etc. **qui** introduces an adj. clause = *Trans-rhenanis*, qualifying *Germanis*: it not being co-ordinate with *quibuscum*, no connecting particle is needed.

4. **cum**, 'that is to say, when.' **cotidianis proeliis**, mere border frays, so that *minus facile bellum inferre possent*, 2. 4, is no contradiction.

5. **eorum**, concisely=*terrae quam incolunt ei* (*i.e.*, Gauls in the widest sense). **quam...dictum est**, 16. 2 *n*. **continetur**

'is bounded.' **ab**, 'on the side of,' 23. 3, *a novissimo agmine*, 'on the rear'; *a latere*, 'in flank'; *a fronte*, *a dextro* (*sinistro*) *cornu*, Roby, § 1813.

6. **oriri** in this local sense is rare, vi. 25. 2; Sall. *Jug.* 48, 3, *collis oriebatur*.

7. **spectat**, etc., 'has a north-east aspect,' C. regarding the whole country from the standpoint of the province. **eam partem**, the south-east corner of the Bay of Biscay.

2.—1. **M. Messala...cons.**, A.U. 693, B.C. 61. C. was then praetor in Spain. **et** in this connection is rare, cp. 6. 4, 35. 4; iv. 1. 1; v. 1. 1. **ut exirent**, really a final clause; 15. 1, *qui videant*; 17. 2, *ne conferant*. **cum omnibus copiis**, *πανδημεί*, with all their belongings.

2. **esse**, 'he said it was easy,' etc. **praestarent**, impf., it being regarded from C.'s (not the speaker's) point of view.

3. **hoc**, ablative of measure with a comparative. **continentur**, 'are confined' [contrast 1. 5] on all sides by the character of their country.' **flumen Rheno, qui**: in C. the relative usually agrees with the appellative, not with the proper name, so 12. 1: *flumen Arar quod*; cp. ii. 5. 4, 9. 3.

4. **qua ex parte**, 'from which side,' *i.e.*, 'in which respect': so *omni ex parte*, 'in every respect,' literally, 'from every point of view.'

5. **angustos** with *pro* [= 'considering,' 51. 1] = '*too* narrow'; so *longum esse*, vi. 8. 1. Thuc. 1. 50, *ὀλίγαι ἀμύνειν*, 'too few to aid.' **qui patebant**: 'in fact they did but extend;' the indicative shows that it is a parenthetic remark of C. **milia passuum**: the Roman mile = 1000 *double* paces (each of these being 5 Roman feet, and a Roman foot being 11·6496 English inches), *i.e.*, 1,618 yards, or about $\frac{10}{11}$ of an English mile. The word *passuum* can be omitted. The measurements nearly coincide with those from Fort de l'Ecluse to Bregenz or to the junction of the Aar and Rhine.

3.—2. **lege**, 'by a special enactment.' The deliberate nature of the whole proceeding in a savage people is noteworthy.

3. **ad res conf.** This repetition is a common trait of C.'s style.

4. **regnum**, 'absolute power.' There was no hereditary kingship in Gaul, but at times individuals, by reason of birth, wealth or personal influence, gained almost unlimited power in their several states. This *principatus* (those who had it

were *principes*) was distinct from such offices as the *vergobretus* (16. 5), and is distinguished from *regnum*, vii. 4. 1, and from *magistratus*, 17. 1: cp. 16. 5, 19. 3, 30. 1; v. 6. 4; vii. 32. 2. **amicus**, a title granted to foreign princes, to reward services done, or to secure a wavering ally; granted only by the senate, hence *s. populi R.*, not as usually *s. p. q. R.;* cp. Sall. *Cat.* 34. 1. **occuparet, conaretur** (in § 5): as a rule the pres. subj. follows the historic present. But when (1) the subordinate clause precedes the principal, (2) between the chief and subordinate clauses another clause with an impf. or plpf. is inserted,—the impf. takes its place; in this case a second clause often goes on with the present, v. 48. 4; vii. 86. 2.

6. **factu**, superfluous in English: cp. vii. 64. 2, Cic. *de Nat. D.* iii. 1. 1, *difficile factu est me id sentire.* **Galliae**=*G. populorum.* **copiis** combines the ideas of 'means' and 'power,' vi. 15. 2.

8. **adducti** applies only to C. and Dumnorix, but **inter ...dant** to Orgetorix also. **regno occupato**=a conditional clause. **firmus** of physical strength, v. 54. 3; Cic. *ad Fam.* xv. 4. 3, *evocatorum firma manus.* **potiri** here only in C. takes genitive, which is common in Sall., *e.g. Cat.* 47. 2, *urbis potiri;* both constructions occur at *Jug.* 74. 3, *armorum aliquanto numero, hostium paucorum potiti* [see also Crit. App.]. **posse**, having no future inf., stands in the pres. after verbs of 'promising,' 'hoping,' etc.

4.—1. **moribus suis**, cp. *eā lege*, 'on those terms.' **ex**, 'in,' cp. *ex equo*, 43. 3. **damnatum**, '*if* condemned,' which in fact he was not. Construe *oportebat poenam s. d.* **ut** i. c. 53. 7; vi. 16. 4; vii. 4. 10.

2. **familiam**=*famulos*, 'household.' **ad**, 'to the number of,' Xen. *Anab.* i. 1. 10. εἰς δισχιλίους: see ii. 33. 5 *n.* **clientes** [clu-iens, κλύω], not like the *client* at Rome; cp. vi. 13. 2; vii. 40. 7; also iii. 22. 1. **ne diceret**, 'to avoid pleading,' final clause. Cic. *p. Sestio*, 8. 18, *ab iis se ereptum ne de ambitu causam diceret praedicabat.* The defiance which Orgetorix thus showed was no doubt a frequent occurrence.

3. It was *while* these steps were being taken that Orgetorix died. **incitata**, 'enraged,' iv. 14. 3; vii. 28. 4. **quin** follows negative sentences with verbs of 'hindering,' 'doubting,' and the like. So vii. 44. 4, *nec aliter sentire...quin;* Cic. *p. Flacco* 27. 64, *quis ignorat quin tria genera sint?* (where the interrog. supplies the negative idea). Roby, § 1768.

5.—1. There was clearly a general feeling as to the necessity of emigration, although Orgetorix, for his own selfish

reasons, may have been the first to give expression thereto. In fact, the tide of emigration from the north was pressing on them. **ut exeant**, an explanatory clause is often thus added, as at 13. 2, *ut fl. transirent;* and the inf. is so used 7. 1; cp. v. 4. 4; vi. 14. 4, 15. 1.

2. **oppida**, 'strongholds'; **reliqua p. a.** = *r. aedificia quae privata erant*, 'isolated buildings.'

3. **praeterquam**, 'except,' once again in C. vii. 77. 6. **domum reditio**, the verbal substantive takes the same case as *redire;* Cic. *de Divin.* i. 32. 68: *reditum ac domum itionem; de Legg.* i. 15. 42: *obtemperatio legibus.* **molĭta** = ἄλφιτα, from *molĕre.* **mensum**, an older form (and the usual one in Cic. Livy, and Ovid) than *mensium;* the original stem was probably *mens-*. C. often puts the time for which anything is estimated to last in the genitive, vii. 71. 4; *Bell. C.* i. 78. 1: *dierum xxii frumentum;* Liv. ix. 37. 4: *cibaria eius diei.*

4. **iis**, as referring to the subject of the principal verb *persuadent*, ought to be *se;* cp. 6. 3, 14. 3, 37. 2; ii. 1. 2; vii. 1. 6.

6.—1. **itinera...itineribus**, cp. § 4, *diem. ..die;* 40. 1: *consilio...consilium.* The repetition for the sake of clearness is common in C. and Cicero's speeches, perhaps coming from the language of legal documents. **quibus** = 'of such a nature that,' hence the subj. *possent.* **angustum**, the narrowest point is at the Fort de l'Ecluse, about 13 miles from Geneva (Peskett). **vix qua**, so placed to give *vix* emphasis; cp. 25. 4, *multi ut;* 43. 3, *ex equis ut;* Cic. *de Prov. Cons.* 3. 5, *vix ut se possit diuturnā pace recreare.*

2. **nuper**, two years before, by the praetor C. Pomptinus, Intr., p. xi. **pacati** = 'subdued,' a favourite euphemism with Roman writers; Cic. *de Prov. Cons.* 13. 32 (of this very conquest), *C. Pomptinus...proeliis fregit eosque domuit.* Florus iv. 2, *Caesar in Galliā pacem fecit.* **transitur** = *transeundus est:* Cic. *ad Fam.* ix. 16. 2, *non facile diiudicatur amor verus et fictus.* **vado**, ablative instr., practically an adverb, and so when thus used always singular, vii. 35. 1, 55. 10.

3. **coacturos**: supply *eos* from *Allobrogibus;* cp. v. 17. 3; vii. 81. 3. **viderentur**, sc. *esse.* **eos**, instead of the normal *se*, to prevent obscurity, 5. 4 *n.;* in such cases *ipse* is more common. **dies**, as a rule, feminine of a stated time, masculine of a natural day. **a. d. v kal. Apr.** = March 28th of the unreformed, April 16th of the Julian calendar. The precise marking of the date shows that it was in C.'s eyes a kind of landmark. For the absence of connecting particles, see 2. 1 *n.*

7.—1. C. had just laid down his consulate and was in Rome; Intr. p. xx. **conari**: 5. 1 *n.* **ulterior**=*transalpina.* **ad**, 'to the neighbourhood of,' vii. 41. 1, 79. 1 etc.; not='to,' which would have been simple acc. According to Plutarch, *C.* 17, he reached the Rhone in eight days.

2. **provinciae toti**: refers only to farther Gaul. **legio**, the 10th. **imperat...iubet**: the want of connecting particles (Asyndeton) serves to show that the orders were hastily given and in fact almost contemporaneous; cp. 20. 6, 22. 3; v. 40. 3.

3. **legatos mittunt**: they had not yet had time to mass upon the Rhone. **qui dicerent**: 3. 5 and 6 *n.* **nullus**, placed last for emphasis, as 18. 3 *nemo.* **rogare**, sc. *se.* *Me, te, se* (rarely *nos, vos*) as subjects of infinitives are often omitted. **voluntate**: 30. 4, 35. 4.

4. **Longinus** was utterly defeated and slain by the Tigurini (12) and Ambrones near Lake Leman, B.C. 107, the legatus C. Popilius leading back the relics of the army. **iugum**: Liv. iii. 28. 11, *tribus hastis iugum fit, humi fixis duabus, superque eas transversa una deligata.*

5. **temperaturos**: 'would abstain,' Verg. *A.* 2. 8, *quis... temperet a lacrimis?* Liv. vii. 20. 9, *temperatum ab oppugnatione urbium;* cp. 33. 4.

6. **diem**, 'space of time,' 40. 14. **ad**, 'by,' vi. 33. 5; *Bell. C.* ii. 18. 1: *ad quam diem.*

8.—1. **legione**: the abl. instr. (as in Greek the dative ἀφικόμενος πολλῇ δυνάμει, Xen. *Hell.* iii. 5. 9) is used of troops and any war material; *e.g.* 15. 3, *novissimo agmine;* 53. 3, *equitatu.* **a lacu...perducit**: the fortifications consisted of a series of forts (connected *where necessary* by trench and wall) on the south bank of the Rhone. No soldiers could have dug such a trench for 19 continuous miles in the time, and no traces of any such continuous work have been found. At parts the steep banks formed a sufficient defence. **qui... influit**: so C. talks, vii. 57. 4, of 'a marsh which flowed (? drained) into the Seine' [see Crit. App.]. C. writing for readers ignorant of the localities means merely to convey the general impression that the river and lake are connected, and that therefore from the lake to the Jura range there was a natural line of fortifications. **decem novem**: for the unusual order cp. Liv. xxxvii. 57. 6, *decem octo;* book viii. 9. 3, *denum quinum.* Roby, vol. i., App. D. iv.

2. **castella**, 'bastions,' Intr. § 29. 6. **conarentur**=*conabuntur* of *or. recta;* iii. 11. 5 *n.* **ulli**, rarely substantival, *ullius* and *ullo* less rarely.

4. **Helvetii...alii,** C. at first intended to mention only the boats, the fording of the river coming in as an afterthought. In translating, another *alii* must be supplied before *navibus.* **si,** 'to try whether,' ii. 9. 1.

9.—1. **Sequanos...Sequanis,** 6. 1 *n.* **una,** 'only one,' so iii. 17. 5, *duum.* [This is now the Pas de l'Ecluse.]

2. **sua sponte,** 'by their own resources,'=*per se;* at v. 28. 1='on their own responsibility.' **eo d.:** 'with him for their advocate.' The object of *impetrare* is to be got from the context. The *de-* in this compound is merely intensive.

3. **gratia,** 'popularity.' **novae res,** 'revolution'; cp. *novae tabulae,* 'cancelling of debts,' and the Greek νεωτερίζειν.

10.—1. **renuntiatur:** *re* has its force of back, viz., in obedience to a command or commission, 'word is brought back.' So *resciscere*=to bring back from concealment to light; cp. 28. 1. **Santonum,** from *Santoni,* 33. 4 *n.* **qui...absunt:** C. (1) exaggerates the danger which would threaten the Province, (2) brings the Santoni too close to the Province, the real distance being about 40 miles. **absunt, est,** 2. 4 *n.*

2. **patentibus,** 'exposed,' protected neither by mountains nor fortresses.

3. **Italiam,** *i.e.,* Cisalpine Gaul, *citerior provincia,* § 5: cp. 24. 2. Aquileia was strongly fortified to resist the Gauls and Illyrians, several legions being quartered there. **itineribus magnis,** 'by forced marches.' **duas,** the 11th and 12th; see Intr. p. xxvii. **circum Aquileiam:** winter quarters were round and not in a town, Xen. *Anab.* i. 2. 5, Κῦρος ὡρμᾶτο ἀπὸ (not ἐκ) Σάρδεων.

4. The exact route taken by C. is doubtful. According to Napoleon it took in Turin, the valley of the Chiasone, Usseau, Col de Mont Génèvre, Briançon, Grenoble, and across the Isère to Lyon. At any rate the mention of the Ceutrones, Graioceli and Caturiges shows that Mont Génèvre must have been taken.

5. 'these having been defeated in several engagements.' For a like juxtaposition of distinct ablatives see iii. 6. 3; vii. 73. 2, 90. 8. **ab,** 'from the neighbourhood of,' vii. 59. 1, *a Gergovia;* cp. note on *ad,* 7. 1. **ulterior provincia,** usually simply 'the Province,' as distinguished from *citerior provincia, i.e.,* Cisalpine Gaul. **extra provinciam.** As before Caesar had raised troops on his own responsibility, so without any commission from the Senate he goes beyond his Province.

The entreaties of the Allobroges and Aedui afford him a second and welcome reason for not confining himself to guard his own borders.

11.—1. per angustias, 6. 1, 9. 1.

3. Strabo iv. 192 *συγγενεῖς Ῥωμαίων ὠνομάζοντο καὶ πρῶτοι τῶν ταύτῃ προσῆλθον πρὸς τὴν φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν.* In B.C. 121 they were styled '*socii populi Romani.*' Liv. *Epit.* 61; cp. 31. 7, 33. 2. Tac. *Ann.* xi. 25, *soli Gallorum fraternitatis nomen cum populo Romano usurpant.* Cic. *ad Fam.* vii. 10. 4, *fratres nostri Aedui.* Both they and the Arverni seem to have traced their descent from Trojan blood; Lucan, *Phars.* i. 427, *Arvernique ausi Latio se fingere fratres,* | *sanguine ab Iliaco populi.* **nostri**, momentary lapse into *or. recta.* **eorum,** not *sui,* C. speaking from *his own* standpoint.

4. **Aedui Ambarri**, Geogr. Index. **depopulatis**, passive part. of *depopulor* (*depopulo* does not occur in classical prose). So *comitatus*, 'accompanied,' from *comitor*, cp. vii. 77. 14.

5. 'nothing except the bare soil.'

6. **Santonos**, 33. 4 *n.*

12.—1. flumen est Arar. C. often introduces a change of subject in this way, *e.g.*, 43. 1; ii. 9. 1; vii. 10. 1. **quod:** 2. 3 *n.* **lenitate**: Sil. Ital. iii. 451, *auget opes stanti similis, tacitoque liquore* | *mixtus Arar.* **transibant**, 'were in the act of crossing.' Where did the Helvetii cross? Most writers agree with Desjardins that it was at Mâcon, Napoleon I. thought that it was at Chalon-sur-Saône, Napoleon III. with Kampen and Göler that it was above Lyon between Trévoux and Villefranche.

2. **exploratores**: Intr. § 22, obs. **de**, 'in the course of,' implying that part of the *vigilia* is past: cp. *mediā* (*multā*) *de nocte.* The night from sunrise to sunset was divided into four equal watches, two before, two after midnight. The third watch would last from midnight till about 3 A.M. **e castris**, between the Rhone and Saône near Lyon.

3. **eos...eorum**: the object of the part. is repeated by means of a pronoun, because of the insertion of a new object of the chief verb; cp. 54. 1, *quos...ex iis*; ii. 10. 2, 11. 4, 23. 1; iii. 19. 4; *Bell. Civ.* ii. 38. 5, *hos adorti magnum eorum numerum interficiunt*; but cp. *id.* iii. 67. 4, *celeriter aggressus Pompeianos ex vallo deturbavit.* **impeditos**, viz., by their baggage and the crossing. **in silvas abdiderunt**, 'went to the woods and hid there,' pregnant construction.

4. **is pagus**=*ea pars Helvetiorum*, the canton (as often in C.) including its inhabitants: 13. 5, 37. 3.

5. **L. Cassium**, 7. 4 *n*. **sub iugum**, 7. 4 *n*.

6. Constr. *ea pars civitatis Helvetiae quae...princeps poenas persolvit: pars* is drawn into the relative clause.

7. **eius**=*Caesaris*. C. had the year before married Calpurnia, daughter of Piso (consul B.C. 58, c. 6, 4). Plutarch, *Caes*. 18, and Appian, *Celt*. 1. 3, attribute this defeat of the Tigurini not to C., but to his legatus Labienus. This is improbable in itself, and there is no reason to suppose that C. is falsifying the story.

13.—2. **ut transiret**, 5. 1 *n*. **bello Cassiano**, 7. 4, 12. 5. This use of the ablative, expressing time when, is generally found with an adjective in agreement or a genitive. Roby, § 1180: cp. 12. 7, *proelio*; 40. 5, *tumultu*; 50. 3, *occasu*.

3. **constituisset**=*constitueris* (fut. perf.) of *or. recta*.

4. **perseveraret**, viz. *C*. The change of subject is the more natural here, owing to C. having just been mentioned. **incommodi**, 'disaster,' euphemism, referring as it does to the event described as *insignis calamitas*, 12. 6. So Cic. *Lael*. 8, *incommodo meo*, of the death of a very dear friend.

5. **quod**, at the beginning of a sentence='as regards the fact that,' nearly='if after all'; 36. 6, 44. 9. The order of the words forbids our construing *ob eam rem, quod*. **tribuere** used absolutely='give weight to,' is expanded, not by an acc. such as *multum* or *aliquid*, but by an adv. Cic. *ad Fam*. xiii. 9. 2, *cum ordini publicanorum semper libentissime tribuerim* =*honorem habuerim*; Tac. *Ann*. 1. 7, *dabat famae*='it was his concession to,' (cp. Mr. Furneaux's note.) So *ita* with *discere*, § 6, with *respondere*, 14. 7.

7. **committere ut**, 'bring it to pass that,' 46. 3. **memoriam proderet**=*memoriam calamitatis ad posteritatem propagaret*. Cp. the answer of Ariovistus, 36. 6.

14.—1. **his**, *legatis*: cp. 34. 2, *ei legationi respondit*: not neuter, which would be *ad haec*, 36. 1; ii. 32. 1. **eo**, cp. *hoc*, 2. 3. 4, 'he had the less reason for hesitation, because he remembered,' etc. **legati H.**, inserted (though not necessary) for clearness. **ferre**, sc. *se*, 7. 3 *n*. **merito**, 'desert,' Liv. xl. 15. 10, *nullo meo in se merito*; Verg. *G*. iv. 454, *miserabilis Orpheus | haudquaquam ob meritum*.

2. **aliquis** is an emphatic *quis*; Madv. 493. obs. 1. **quare** =*propter quod*, from which supply a subj. to *commissum*, 33. 2 *n*. **deceptum**, *esse*.

3. **eo invito,** 6. 3, 11. 3 *n.* **num posse,** acc. and inf., because in *or. recta* the 1st person would be used ; Madv. 405. a. In this usage the subj. *se* is often omitted. **Allobrogas,** 26. 6 *n.*

4. **se,** *Helvetios.* **impune tulisse,** 'that they had so long (viz., for 50 years) escaped punishment for the wrongs done. Cic. *ad Fam.* xiii. 77. 2, *cum multos libros surripuisset neque se impune laturum putaret, aufugit.* Lucan. i. 289, *gentesque subactas vix impune feres;* cp. Liv. i. 50. 9, *ne id quidem ab Turno tulisse tacitum ferunt* = 'escape without an answer from.' C. infers this surprise of the Helvetii from the tone of their speech, for they had not expressed it in so many words. The idea that the gods often deferred a punishment in order to render it the more signal is not uncommon in Latin and Greek, *e.g.*, Arist. *Rhet.* ii. 23, who quotes πολλοῖς ὁ δαίμων οὐ κατ' εὔνοιαν φέρων | μεγάλα δίδωσιν εὐτυχήματ', ἀλλ' ἵνα | τὰς συμφορὰς λάβωσιν ἐπιφανεστέρας. Hirtius, *Bell. Alex.* 25. 4, *fortuna, quae plerumque eos, quos beneficiis ornavit, ad duriorem casum reservat.*

quae polliceantur, 13. 3.

7. **eius...testem,** alluding to the defeat of Cassius, 7. 4. Note the interchange (common in C.) of primary and historic tenses ; *doleant, velint* in § 5 are primary as giving a *general* statement : cp. 40. 12.

15.—1. **equitatum,** Intr. § 10. **qui videant :** pl., *equitatus* being collective ; cp. also 2. 1 *n.* **ad num.** 4. 2 *n.* **coactum habebat :** stronger than *coëgerat,* implying that the effects of the action are still felt.

2. **cupidius,** 'too eagerly.' **alienus** = *iniquus ;* it was mountainous. Sall. *Jug.* 54. 8, *qui sua loca defendere nequiverant, in alienis bellum gerere ;* the opposite term is *suus,* 'favourable.' **et,** 'and thereupon,' *Bell. Civ.* iii. 9. 8, *iamque hiems appropinquabat et...Octavius se recepit.* **pauci,** the rest had fled, 18. 10.

3. **et** joins *subsistere* and *lacessere ;* never used by C. = 'also,' 'even' ; *nonnumquam* therefore qualifies both verbs. **novissimo agmine,** 8. 1 *n.* **in praesentia** may be (1) acc. pl. of *praesens* = 'for the present' ; or (2) as the lexicons take it, abl. sing. of *praesentia,* with which cp. Cic. *ad Fam.* ii. 10, *haec ad te in praesenti scripsi.*

5. **non amplius...milibus :** you can use *amplius* (*plus, minus*) *quinque milia,* etc., without influencing the case (cp. viii. 10. 4, *non amplius erant quingenti*) ; Roby, § 1273. The distributives show that the interval was kept *each day.*

16.—1. **publice**, 'in the name of the state': opposed to *singuli privatim.* **flagitare**, historic inf., Madv. § 392; Roby, § 1359. **polliciti essent**, 'they had, *as he reminded them*, promised.'

2. **frigora**, v. 12. 6 *n.* **ante**, 1. 5. **ut...dictum**, C. uses this impersonal form, or the pl., *ut supra diximus*, as in the historical style the personality of the writer is kept in the background. We find, however, ii. 24. 1, *quos... dixeram;* iv. 27. 2, *quem demonstraveram.* **frumenta** in pl. always of the crops standing in the fields, 40. 11; iii. 9. 8; iv. 19. 1, 38. 3; v. 14. 2; vi. 29. 4, 43. 3; vii. 64. 3. It was now well on in June.

3. **averterant**, to the north-west, into the Loire valley.

4. **diem de die**: *diem* is not the object of *ducere* (though such a construction does occur), but an adverbial acc. Liv. xxv. 25. 4, *cum is diem de die differret.* The object of *ducere* is *tempus*, or perhaps *Caesarem.* In like manner C. complains of the Aedui, vii. 17. 2. Constant and not unsuccessful efforts were made to win over so powerful a tribe to the national party. **conferri**, 'contributed' by individuals; **comportari**, 'brought' to C.

5. **metiri**, probably passive, as C. does not omit the object after active infinitives with *oportet.* The monthly allowance to each footsoldier was 4 bushels of corn, to the cavalry 12 of corn and 42 of barley. **vergobretus**, from Keltic *guerg* = 'effecting'; *breth* = 'judgment' = *iudicium efficiens.* **seduci**, with an implied notion of deceit; cp. Ter. *Phorm.* 500, *ut phaleratis d u c a s dictis me.*

6. **cum posset.** When to a clause dependent on a historic present a second clause is subordinated, its verb usually stands in the subj. impf. **necessario**, 'pressing,' 'critical,' as Caesar often uses the word, *e.g.* vii. 32. 2, 40. 4.

17.—1. **proponit**, 'sets forth,' 'states.' **privatim**, practically=*privati:* cp. iii. 2. 3, *singillatim;* Liv. vi. 41. 6, *et p r i v a t i m auspicia habeamus, quae isti ne in magistratibus quidem habent.* For the matter of fact, cp. 3. 4 *n.*

2. **praestare**, vii. 17. 7.

4. **superaverint**=fut. perf. of *or. recta* **una...Aeduis**=*et reliquae Galliae et Aeduis: una cum=et* with nom. or acc.

6. **necessaria re**=*necessitate.* Cic. *Verr.* iii. 30. 72, *audite reliqua et diligenter attendite, quo minus miremini Siculos r e n e c e s s a r i a coactos auxilium a patronis...petivisse.* The object of *enuntiarit* can easily be supplied from the context.

18.—1. **iactari**, 'bandied about.' **dimittit, retinet**: the want of connecting particles ('Asyndeton') serves to bring out the *opposition* between the two clauses. **dicit**, *Liscus*.

3. **ipsum**, *i.e.*, the very man *quem Caesarem designari sentiebat.* **summa audacia**, 'a man of,' etc. This omission of some such word as *vir*, *homo*, with proper names followed by ablative of quality is rare; cp. ii. 6. 4, 28. 5: and the like usage of the genitive, v. 6. 1, 35. 7, 54. 2; Liv. xxii. 60. 5, *Manlius Torquatus priscae severitatis.* **portoria**, a narrower word than *vectigalia*. **redempta habere**, 'held in contract,' stronger than *redemisse*, 15. 1 *n.* At Rome *societates* of *publicani* contracted to farm the taxes for a period of five years for a certain sum, subletting particular districts to underlings, more often freedmen than citizens; these last were the 'publicans' of the New Testament. **audeat nemo**, 7. 3 *n.*, v. 51. 5. **licente**, 'bidding,' from *liceor*: cp. Pers. 5. 191, *centum Graecos curto centusse licetur.*

6. **domi**, 'in his own state,' locative. **largiter**, rare in good prose, *large* being the usual form = *liberaliter* of iv. 21. 6. **posse** used absolutely = *potentem esse*, is qualified by an adv., 17. 1, *plus posse.* **collocasse**, *nuptum*, as § 7, or *in matrimonium.*

7. **ex Helvetiis**, 3. 5. **ex matre**, 'on the mother's side.' **nuptum**, 'in marriage,' acc. supine. **in alias civitates**: Liv. xxiii. 2. 6, *filiam que Romam nuptum dedisset.* Cic. *p. Cael.* 14. 34, *cum in familiam clarissimam nupsisset*, 'had married into a most distinguished family.'

8. **cupere alicui**, 'wish one well,' *alicui* being the dative of indirect object, and the direct object not expressed. **suo nomine**, 'on his own account,' a commercial metaphor.

9. 'If any disaster should befall the Romans.' This softening down is called 'euphemism': familiar instances are the change of names, 'Cape of Storms' to 'Cape of Good Hope,' of the *Pontos Axeinos* ('inhospitable) to *P. Euxeinos* ('hospitable'), of *Maleventum* to *Beneventum*; Kiepert, § 17 *n.* **imperio**, 'under the rule,' an extension of the ablative of the time when; Madv. § 276 *n.* 2; Roby, § 1180; ii. 1. 4; Cic. *Verr.* iv. 6. 134, *ut (Graeci) imperio nostro quam ornatissimi florentissimique essent.* Not till much later did *imperium* = 'empire.'

10. **eius fugae**, 'the flight thereupon'; so *ea spes*, 'hope thereof'; *is metus*, 'fear thereof.' **quod...eius**: cp. 13. 5, *quod adortus esset, ne ob eam rem* [or *quod*, relative, with *proelium*; the antecedent being omitted and *proelium*

drawn into the relative cause=*in eo proelio equestri adverso, quod factum esset*]. **proelium equestre**, 'cavalry skirmish,' being virtually one word is qualified by a second epithet *adversum*, cp. ii. 29. 3, 38. 7; vii. 36. 1. **paucis diebus**, ablative of measure of time, 31. 10, *paucis mensibus.*

19.—1. **traduxisset**, 9. 4. The repeated *quod* (='anaphora') gives prominence to each ground of complaint; the subjunctives are used as giving C.'s thoughts. **ipsis**, *Caesare et civibus.* **magistratu**, viz., Liscus the *vergobretus*, 16. 5 *f.*

3. **cotidianis**, 'usual,' 'every-day'; cp. Ter. *Eun.* 297, *taedet cotidianarum harum formarum.* **Procillum**, 47.4, 53. 5. **princeps**: 3. 4 *n.* **cui...habebat**=*cuius fidei omnes res credebat;* cp. 53. 6, *homo honestissimus Galliae provinciae.*

4. **simul** with *et ostendit.* **ipso**, *Divitiaco.*

5. 'He begs him (*i.e.* Div.) either to allow him to try the case (of Dumnorix) and decide...or to bid the State do so.' *Bell. Civ.* i. 26. 3, *ut ipse* (*i.e.* C.) *cum Pompeio colloqueretur, postulat.* Nepos *Epam.* 4. 4, *cum rogaret ut exiret=ut per eum exire liceret.* **offensione animi** form one word on which *eius* (=*Divitiaci*) depends.

20.—3. **nervi**=*vires, potentia.* Cic. *Phil.* v. 12. 31, *experientur senatus nervos atque vires.*

5. **iniuriam...condonet**, *i.e.*, refrain from vengeance. **voluntati**, 'in consideration of his loyalty,' dative after *condonet.*

6. **adhibet**, 'summons to him.' **intellegat**=*sciat.* **custodes** comes to mean 'spies'; so vi. 6. 4. C. knew that if he treated Dumnorix harshly he would thereby estrange the Aedui, nay the whole of Gaul. Afterwards he saw reason to change his policy, v. 7. 7.

21.—1. **exploratores**, 12. 2 *n.* **cognoscerent**, 'ascertain'; **monte**, Mont Tauffrin.

2. **legatum pro praetore**, Intr. § 17 obs. **quid...sit**=*quid decreverit.* A comparison of the phrases *id consilium m i h i est* and *id consilii m e i est* points out the nature of the gen.; cp. vi. 7. 8; vii. 77. 12; *Bell. Civ.* iii. 109. 3, *quid esset suae voluntatis.* C.'s plan was this: Labienus was to go round and take the hill from behind and so attack the Helvetii in rear, while C. attacked them in front.

4. C. is excusing his choice of the wrong man, iv. 21. 9 *n.* The sequel shows that Considius' Gauls were Labienus and his men.

22.—1. **longius...passibus,** 15. 5 *n.* ; v. 53. 7 ; vii. 19. 1.

2. **equum admittere,** 'to give a horse the reins,' hence *equo admisso*, 'at full gallop.' **a** (*Gallorum armis*), 'by means of,' not elsewhere in good prose, usually *ex* (iv. 30. 1), or the simple ablative. **insignia,** 'accoutrements,' especially helmets ; see ii. 21. 5. This makes the mistake the more unaccountable ; it was not merely that he had exaggerated but had reported *quod non vidisset pro viso.*

3. **subducit, instruit.** Why this asyndeton ? 18. 1 *n.* **ipsius,** Caesar's.

4. **multo die,** 'late in the day'; 26. 3, *ad multam noctem,* iii. 26. 6.

5. **quo...intervallo** : *i.e.*, five or six Roman miles : 15. 5. **milia passuum xviii.,** 41. 5 *n.*

23.—1. **postridie...diei** : for the pleonasm, cp. 6. 1 *n.* **biduum...cum,** 'only two days were wanting to the time when.' *cum* takes the subjunctive after the analogy of such expressions as *fuit tempus*, *erit dies* in which the subjunctive nearly always follows : Madv. § 358 *n.* 4. **metiri,** 16. 5 *n.* **avertit ac...contendit** go closely together ; so that *existimavit ; avertit ac contendit* form two, not three, independent members of the sentence. In translating, accordingly, insert some such word as 'therefore' before *avertit;* cp. v. 49. 6 and i. 31.6, 46. 1, 50. 1; vii. 40. 6.

2. **fugitivos,** 'runaway slaves'; *perfugae* (or *transfugae* which word C. never uses), 'deserters'; cp. Liv. *Fragm.* bk. 91, *transfugas liberos vivos ad se adduci iussit, fugitivos ...ipsis imperavit ut interficerent.* c. 27. 3, C. demands *servos qui ad eos perfugissent.* At *Bell. C.* iii. 19, *fugitivi ab saltu Pyrenaeo,* the word is only used as one of contempt. **decurio,** Intr. § 10.

3. **existimarent, confiderent,** should strictly be indicated. *Quod* however sometimes takes the subj. by attraction, *e.g.*, 27. 4, v. 6. 3 ; Roby, § 1746. **eo quod**=*propterea quod*, iii. 13. 6. **intercludi posse** *Romanos.* **a novissimo agmine** (*nostrorum*), 1. 5 *n.*

24.—1. **animum advertere** (for *animadvertere*) is found occasionally in C. (v. 18. 2) and Cicero, often in the comic poets and Sallust. **Caesar,** the subject alike of the principal and subordinate clause, is in a very unusual place in the sentence. Cp. the more regular order, 11. 2, *Aedui cum...non possent, legatos mittunt.* Another variety occurs 50. 4, *cum quaereret Caesar...reperiebat.*

2. **triplicem aciem**, Intr. § 13. **auxilia**, Intr. §§ 7 and 11.

3. **ac**, 'and in this manner.' **totum**, *i.e.*, from half way up to the top. **his**, the two new legions just mentioned, hence *his* not *iis*.

5. In the **phalanx** (Intr. § 1) of the Helvetii (of these only among the Gauls) and Germans (cp. 52. 5), the shields of the front ranks overlapped each other, but were not, as in the *testudo*, held over the head (Intr. § 15). To break this συνασπισμός (Plutarch, *Marius*, 20) was the chief use of the Roman *pilum* (25. 2 and 3, Intr. § 38 *obs.*). **reiecto...facta**, the two ablatives absolute are not connected by a conjunction, because the one is really subordinate to the other : *upon* the repulse of the horse the phalanx was formed, ii. 11. 5.

25.—1. Plutarch, *Caesar* 18, ὡς ἵππος αὐτῷ προσήχθη, τούτῳ μὲν, ἔφη, νικήσας χρήσομαι πρὸς τὴν δίωξιν, νῦν δ' ἴωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ πεζὸς ὁρμήσας ἐνέβαλε. Suet. *Jul.* 60, *ancipiti proelio equos dimittebat et inprimis suum.* Just so Catiline (Sall. *Cat.* 59. 1), *quo militibus exaequato periculo animus amplior esset.* **suo**, *equo*. **omnium**, *i.e.*, all his mounted staff, not the cavalry.

3. **Gallis**, *i.e.*, *Helvetiis.* **impedimento**, predicative dat., Roby, § 1158 *sqq.* **ad**, ii. 25. 1 *n.* Cic. *p. Sulla*, 17. 49, *ut nullius amicitiā ad pericula propulsanda impediremur.* **cum**, 'seeing that the iron-head had got bent,' and was therefore the more difficult to pull out. This head was about 4½ feet long, and its weight would carry it through several of the light shields carried by the Helvetii ; cp. Intr. § 4.

multi ut, 6. 1 *n.* **nudus**, 'exposed,' without the shield ; cp. Xen. *Anab.* iv. 3. 6, ἐπί τε τῆς κεφαλῆς τὰ ὅπλα εἴ τις φέροι, γυμνοὶ ἐγίγνοντο πρὸς τὰ τοξεύματα. In § 6, *nudum latus* = 'exposed flank.'

6. **ex** (*itinere*), 'straight from.' The march and attack are a continuous action, cp. ii. 6. 1, 12. 2, 29. 1 ; iii. 21. 2. **aperto**, *i.e.*, the right. In this fight the Helvetii were facing west, the Romans east. So the Boii and Tulingi drawing up from the south would come upon their right flank. [As the manoeuvre was not carried out, *circumvenire* (*coeperunt*) is better than the various reading *circumvēnere ;* and moreover C. seldom uses the pf. form in *-re*.]

7. 'The Romans wheeled round and charged in two divisions,' *i.e.*, with two fronts. **victis ac submotis**, *Helvetiis ;* **venientes**, *Boios ac Tulingos.*

26.—1. **ancipiti**, 'double' (not 'doubtful,' as often), viz.,

both in front and rear, vii. 76. 6. **diutius ut**, 6. 1 *n.* **alteri**, *Helvetii;* **alteri**, *Boii et Tulingi.*

2. **nam** = 'I say, *se receperunt*, *contulerunt*, not *fugerunt*, for throughout this battle no one saw an enemy's back.' **aversum** = *fugientem.* **hora septima**, the day was divided into twelve equal *horae*, from sunrise to sunset, in such a manner that the seventh would begin about noon.

3. **ad multam noctem**, 22. 4 *n.* **pro vallo carros**: the Gauls (as the Germans, iv. 14. 4) piled up their baggage-waggons to serve as a rampart, and here, during the fight, stored the women and children, who, according to Plutarch, *C.* 18, were massacred: a fact which C. very naturally omits to state. The immense carnage may be seen from C.'s own account by comparing the number of the survivors, § 5, with that of those who started, 29. 2. **subiciebant**, opposed to *conicere e loco superiore.* The spelling *subiicio*, *coniicio* is incorrect, the Romans disliking the coming together of *ii.* **matara** (*mataris*, *materis*), a Gallic pike, hurled by the hand; Liv. 7. 24. 3, *consul laevo umero matari prope traiecto, cesserat ex acie.* The *tragula* (cp. v. 35. 6, 48. 7), in use also among the Spaniards, was swung by a strap.

5. **die quarto**, from the day of battle reckoning inclusively. The distance was about 60 Roman miles, for which this time, considering the many hindrances of the march, was not over long. The exact field of battle is not precisely known, but it was certainly *east* of Bibracte, not *west* as Napoleon thought.

6. **Lingonas.** The Greek accusative is used in the names of Gallic tribes, as in *Allobrogas* i. 14. 3, vii. 64. 7; *Bell. C.* iii. 63. 5; *Atrebatas* viii. 7. 4; *Curiosolitas* ii. 34. 1, iii. 7. 4; *Sallyas*, *Bell. C.* i. 35. 4. **nuntios...iuvarent**, iv. 19. 2; *Bell. Civ.* i. 9. 3; *literas misit...ut discederent.* The substantive and verb (*nuntios misit*) = a simple verb. **qui...habiturum.** The relative is drawn into the subordinate clause instead of being attached to the principal verb (*habiturum*) and supplying its object, which therefore is here omitted. Cp. 44. 11, *qui nisi decedat...sese illum...pro hoste habiturum.* **eodem loco**, with *loco* in this figurative sense, *in* is usually omitted, especially when a genitive accompanies, *e.g.*, vi. 13. 1, *servorum loco;* but cp. 42. 6, *in cohortis praetoriae loco.* Just so, Caesar uses both *numero* and *in numero* (cp. 28. 1 with vi. 6. 3), both *honore* and *in honore* (cp. v. 54. 4 with *Bell. C.* i. 77. 2).

27.—2. **iussisset.** The subject is suddenly changed as at

18. 2; cp. *Bell. Civ.* iii. 21. 1, *cum resisteret Servilius...et minus efficeret* (*Coelius*). **eos**, the main body of the Helvetii.

3. **perfugio**, 'run away *to a certain place*,' as here to the enemy; the subst. is *perfuga*, 'a deserter.'

4. **conquiruntur**, *obsides et servi;* **conferuntur**, *arma.* **nocte intermissa**, 'as meanwhile (*i.e.*, during the search) a night had intervened.' Join **prima nocte** ('early in the night') **egressi. fines-que**, *que* explanatory; 'the Rhine, this being the German frontier.' The importance of the added clause lies in the fact that flight into Germany, where a fresh nucleus of future disturbance and war would be formed, was the very thing Caesar most wished to avert.

28.—1. **re-sciit**, 10. 1 *n.* **sibi purgati**, 'cleared of blame in his eyes' (ethical dat.), cp. iv. 13. 5, *sui purgandi causa.* Cic. *ad Fam.* 12. 25. 3, *quod te mihi de Sempronio purgas... accipio excusationem.* **in...numero**, a characteristic euphemism. They were all slain.

3. The Raurici had started with the Helvetii (5. 4) but were not sent back with them, but probably settled in Gaul with the Boii. See vii. 75. 3.

4. **Allobrogibus-que**, '*above all* to the A.', *que* explanatory as 27. 4 *n.* C. expressly states (6. 2, 11. 1), that their lands belonged to 'the Province,' Intr., p. xi.

5. **egregia virtute erant**, 18. 3 *n.* **Boios**, accusative, after *collocarent;* note the order. **petentibus Aeduis**, ablative absolute. They were anxious to strengthen themselves by the ingrafting of this warlike tribe. **concessit**, 'granted their request,' absolute. **postea**, as they are mentioned (vii. 9. 6, 10. 1) as dependent on the Aedui, this equalization must have been a result of the part they took in the Vercingetorix campaign, and the present note subsequently added, Intr. p. xxxi.

29.—1. **litteris Graecis**, but not in the Greek tongue, v. 48. 4; vi. 14. 3 *n.* **qui numerus** = *quot*, not *ratio numeri qui.* **pueri**, etc.: C. has in his mind's eye a predicate such as 'were given in the census,' hence the case. **mulieresque.** In such enumerations *et* must be used with each subst. or with none, but *que* often couples the last two; iv. 14. 2, *Bell. C.* ii. 1. 1, *aggerem, vineas turresque.*

2. **rerum.** C. is fond of using *res* for the simple pronoun, here even of persons; in the enumeration of large numbers the idea of individual personality vanishes.

3. **fuerunt** agrees with the predicate; contrast *erat* of § 2; iv. 12. 1 *n.* The aorist gives the result of the counting=*summa erat,* the amount which gradually mounted as the counting went on. **ad,** 4. 2 *n.;* Liv. xxii. 41. 2, *ad mille et septingenti.*

30.—1. **Galliae,** *i.e.,* Keltic Gaul, to which the Helvetii belonged; 1. 1 *n.*

2. **tametsi** is used four times by C. in books i.-vii., always with following *tamen.* **Helvetiorum...Romani,** 'inflicted by the Helvetii on the Roman people.' This combination of objective and subjective genitives occurs vii. 76. 2, *universae Galliae consensio libertatis vindicandae;* ii. 17. 2 *n.* **ex usu,** 'to the advantage'; cp. the phrases *ex merito, e re, ex iniuria, ex integro, ex contrario.* **terra Gallia,** 'the land of Gaul'; cp. *flumen Rhenus, mons Iura, mare Oceanus* (iii. 7. 2), Tac. *Ann.* 1. 9; Liv. xxv. 7. 4, *terra Italia.* The *land* of Gaul is opposed to the Roman *people,* not without significance.

3. **florentissimis rebus,** implying that there had been no necessity, which was hardly the case. See 5. 1 *n.* **copia,** *locorum per totam Galliam.* **Concilium...Galliae**: such general councils are often mentioned. The leave to convene this council was asked in order to avert any supicion as to its object which might arise in C.'s mind. **enuntiaret**: the object is not the plan of convening the council, but the measures which would there be determined on. C., with characteristic brevity, informs us of the conference only by saying that it was broken up.

31.—1. **idem**=*iidem.* **fuerant,** *cum Caesare.*

3. **factiones,** cp. vi. 12. 1; Intr., p. xxii.

4. **potentatus**=*principatus* here only in C., and always a rare usage; Cic. *de Republ.* 8. 11, *cum ad eum* (*Romulum*) *potentatus omnis recidisset.* **Galliae,** *Celticae.*

5. **adamassent.** The pf. and plpf. (ind. and conj.) are the only classical forms. The *ad* is intensive.

6. **clientes.** Between the larger and certain of the smaller states existed a bond by which these latter enjoyed protection and in return supplied soldiers and paid tribute. The number of clients varied with the power of the state; vi. 12. 2, *magna auctoritas erat in Aeduis magnaeque eorum erant clientelae.* **senatum,** ii. 5. 1. That the picture of the losses of the A. are greatly overcoloured may be seen from the part which their *nobilitas* and *equites* play in later campaigns of the war, *e.g.,* vii. 32. 33, 38. 4; cp. ii. 28. 2.

7. **hospitium publicum** is distinguished from both *amicitia* and the formal *foedus*, being an agreement entered into between free states; the members who enjoyed its privileges could claim an honourable welcome in the city, a dwelling, entertainment (*lautia*), and gifts at the public expense.

9. **Roman...venisse**, vi. 12. 5.

10. **Ariovistus**, probably king of the Suebi, who composed the flower of his army. Before this war he had lived on the Upper Rhine in modern *Baden*. Fresh swarms of the Suebi are mentioned, 37. 3. **Harudum** = 'belonging to the Harudes,' = *ex Harudibus*. **de altera parte tertia**, 'from the second third,' 18. 10 *n*.

11. **omnes**, *i.e.*, *Galli*, not merely *Sequani*; cp. 33. 3. **neque enim**, 'for not'; the *neque...neque* are not correlative. **conferendum**, *i.e.*, it was so much better. **Gallicum**, *agrum*. **hanc**, *i.e.*, *Gallorum*.

12. **Admagetobrigae**, Intr., p. xii. *Geogr. Index*, s. v. **imperare...poscere et edere**: here, as in 23. 1, are two, not three, members of the sentence. The general *crudeliter imperare* is followed (without any connecting particles) by the details of which the *crudele imperium* consisted. **exempla**, 'examples (or 'modes') of punishment,' more accurately described, in C.'s manner, by *cruciatus*; cp. iii. 3. 1 *n*, v. 17. 2, *servitute et catenis*. **edere** *exempla*, 'put forth,' 'display'; hence, *in aliquem edere* = 'put into practice against'; so *caedem* (*stragem*, *facinus*), *edere*; cp. Liv. ii. 53. 6, *nullum genus calamitatis contumeliaeque non e d i t u m in Volscos est;* xxi. 57. 14, *adeo omnis libidinis crudelitatisque et inhumanae superbiae e d i t u m in miseros e x e m p l u m est.*

13. **non posse sustinere**, as later in the chapter, *non dubitare;* cp. 7. 3.

14. **ut...emigrent**, 5. 1 *n*. **nisi si**, *i.e.*, 'excepting if' C. would help them; without *si* = 'if C. would not help them they would have to wander forth.' The former phrase states more emphatically the situation of the Gauls and their own means of escape. "The condition of the Sequani had no effect in warning their kinsmen; foreign aid had given them the supremacy, by foreign aid they now sought to gain freedom" (Drumann).

From § 12 on, as once already in § 8 *potuerit*, instead of the impf. and plpf., present and perfect tenses are used, in order to give the account of Ariovistus' tyranny and the state of Gaul as vividly as possible from the speaker's point of view.

32.—2. **nihil...rerum**, iii. 4. 3 *n*, *i.e.*, they neither entreated nor wept.

4. **reliquorum**, *fortunam*, which can be omitted at will. **horrere** in classical Latin usually takes accusative=' shrink from'; in C. here only. **coram**, 'in person.' **tamen**, 'yet at any rate,' referring to a suppressed thought, 'although they might suffer from Ariovistus' tyranny, yet,' etc.

33.—1. **beneficio suo**, 35. 2, 40, 42, 43. For the bestowing of the kingly title on Ariovistus, see Intr., p. xii. It was meant to extend over the Germans, not over the Gauls.

2. **secundum**, 'next to these considerations,' those namely brought forward by Divitiacus. *Secundum* was originally participle of *sequor;* cp. Cic. *de Or.* iii. 59. 223, *in actione secundum vocem vultus valet.* **quare** seldom, as here, follows plural words, v. 31. 5; Cic. *p. Rosc. Am.* 33. 94, *permulta...quare.* Note the repetition *res...quare...eam rem.* **cogitare**, 'take into consideration.' **fratres consanguineosque** 11. 3. **in tanto imperio**, 'in view of the extended sway.'

4. **sibi t. quin**, 7. 5 *n*. **Cimbri, Teutonique**, Intr., p. xi. They appeared on the frontier of Italy B.C. 113, and fought against Rome till B.C. 101. The Teutoni were defeated by Marius at Aquae Sextiae (*Aix*) B.C. 102, and the Cimbri by the same, and by the proconsul Q. Lutatius Catulus at Vercellae B.C. 101. As C. always declines the names of tribes [*Teutoni*, 40. 5; ii. 4. 2, 29. 4; *Santoni*, 11. 6; iii. 11. 5; vii. 75. 3] after 2nd declension, the genitive plural *Santonum*, 10. 1, *Teutonum*, vii. 77. 12, should be regarded as the older form in *um*=*orum*, not as from *Santones, Teutones.* For *Turoni*, see Crit. App. on ii. 35. 3. **Rhodanus**, *i.e.*, '*only* the Rhone,' and this could be forded at several points, 6. 2.

5. **spiritus**, 'arrogance,' 'airs'; (cp. *inflatus*), usually in plural as *animi*, ii. 4. 3; Liv. iv. 54. 8, *cum et spiritus plebs sumpsisset;* Cic. *de imp. Pomp.* 22. 65.

The full statement of details marks Caesar's sense of the importance of the crisis.

34.—1. **placuit ei ut mitteret**, 'he resolved to send'; the inf. is more usual. But Cic. *ad Att.* viii. 12. A. 4, *placitum est mihi, ut...mitterem.* It=*statuo* (*censeo*) *ut*, as 35. 4; vi. 40. 2, **medium utriusque**, lying between the two, and therefore common to both (hence the gen.).

2. **quid se velit**: Ter. *Phorm.* 151, *numquid aliud me vis?* Beside the accusative of the person can stand also a second

acc. of neut. adj. or pronoun (as in Gk. χρῆσθαί τινί τι) after the analogy of verbs of asking; Roby, §§ 1094, 1122. In a conditional clause of *or. obl.* C. often substitutes a subj. pres. for the impf. to prevent the clause being taken as an unreal supposition; this is here the more needed from the preceding words *si...opus esset;* iv. 7. 3; vii. 20. 7, 66. 5.

3. **molimento,** 'exertion' (*moliri*='exert oneself'); Liv. xxxvii. 14. 7, *eo minoris molimenti ea claustra esse.* So too *moles.*

35.—2. **beneficio affectus,** 33. 1. **cognoscere,** 'make himself acquainted with.'

3. **trans Rhenum,** not the simple acc. (as at 12. 2, etc.), because the *destination* also is here given. **permitteret ut liceret,** the pleonasm is not rare. Cic. *de Offic.* iii. 4. 20 has even *licentiam dat ut...liceat.* **illi, illis,** the Sequani.

4. **si ita fecisset,** and then **si non impetraret,** 44. 13 *n.* **impetraret,** change of subject. **M. Messala, M. Pisone consulibus,** B.C. 61. **censuisset, uti,** vi. 40. 2 *n.* **quod** is in this formula not the acc. of *qui* (=*quantum,* 'as much as,' 'as far as'), but a contracted form of **quoad** mentioned by Varro and other early writers; cp. Wagner on Ter. *Eun.* 215. The same formula occurred in commissions on entry to office. Cic. *ad Fam.* i. 1. 3, *ut regem reducas, quod commodo reipublicae facere possis;* with *si,* v. 46. 4; vi. 32. 5. So *per commodum.* **commodo,** ablative as *damno,* vi. 44. 1. **se** repeats *sese* owing to the intervening clauses. [C. by these words means Ariovistus to take his reply as from the Senate.]

36.—1. **ut** after *ius,* as 43. 8 after *consuetudo.* **qui...vicissent**; cp. the equivalent phrase 44. 2.

2. **suum ius** is so essentially a phrase *per se,* that its introduction here as applied to the Romans causes no confusion; *suus* in *or. obl.* strictly refers to the *speaker.*

3. **stipendiarios,** *i.e.,* with a money payment, as against payment in kind (*vectigalia*).

4. **qui,** causal, 'seeing that he.' **suo,** *Caesaris.* **sibi,** *Ariovisto.*

5. **neque...neque,** the former *neque* is both a connecting and correlative particle, 'but neither...nor'; iii. 3. 2; vii. 52. 1. **quod convenisset,** 'what they had agreed upon'; the full phrase, *quod inter eos convenerat,* occurs ii. 19, 6. **fra-**

ternum = *fratrum*, Roby, § 1277. For the fact cp. 11. 3, 33. 2. **iis**, dative, as *longe abesse* (or *abesse* alone) = *deesse*; cp. Verg. *Aen.* 12. 52; *longe* *illi* *dea mater erit.*

6. 'As to Caesar's declaration that he would not overlook the wrongs of the Aedui, no one had ever fought with him (Ariovistus) without coming to utter destruction.' **quod denuntiaret**, 13. 5; *denuntiare* is especially used of official or authoritative declarations. What word has to be supplied in the subordinate clause?

7. **invicti**, 39. 1. **qui...subissent.** It does not follow from this (in any case exaggerated) expression that the Germans had crossed into Gaul B.C. 72, for the roving life might well have been begun in Germany itself. **inter**, 'during,' 'for' = *per*, Cic. *de imp. Pomp.* 23. 68, *qui inter tot annos unus inventus sit.* *intra* = 'within (before the lapse of)' a certain time, *e.g.*, vi. 21. 5.

37.—1. **eodem tempore** goes equally with *referebantur* and *veniebant*, 'at one and the same time these messages were brought,' etc.; cp. *Bell. Civ.* i. 62. 3, *eodem tempore pons effectus nuntiabatur et vadum reperiebatur.* Only one verb stands, Nepos *Milt.* 3. 5, *non idem ipsis expedire et multitudini.* **a Treveris**, the preposition is repeated to mark that the embassies were distinct.

2. **eorum**, the Aedui; 6. 3, 11. 3. **pacem**, a friendly disposition on the part of. **redimere**, 44. 12; *Bell. Civ.* i. 39. 4, *largitione militum voluntates redemit.*

3. **pagos...Sueborum.** The attempted crossing must have been intended to take place near Mainz, as the information came from the Treveri, and the invasion was to be an independent one on the part of Suebi, who had no intention of merely acting as a contingent of Ariovistus's forces. But there was the danger (§ 4) of the two forces uniting. If we compare iv. 1. 4. with Tacitus *Germ.* 39, *vetustissimos se nobilissimosque Semnones memorant...centum pagis habitant*, we may conclude that among these fresh hordes the levy of the Suebi-Semnones is included, as yearly 1000 armed men from each of the 100 cantons served, while the rest tilled the fields. The expression *centum pagi* however shows that C. did not look at the matter in this light, but took it literally of an emigration. **ripas**, the right or east bank. The plural [which C. in *Bell. Gall.* uses thirteen times, to sing. five times] expresses various points on the same bank, including the neighbourhood of the bank, 54. 1; ii. 5. 5; vii. 58. 6.

38.—1. **Vesontio**, like *Sulmo*, *Narbo*, *Hippo*, *Frusino* are masc.; most names of towns in *-o* (e. g., *Tarraco*, *Barcino*) are fem. **quod est oppidum**; cp. ii. 1. 1; vii. 68. 1; Cic. *Phil.* 5. 14, *Pompeio...quod imperio populi Romani lumen fuit, interfecto;* contrast v. 11. 8, *flumen, quod appellatur Tamesis.* **a suis finibus**, viz., that part of Gaul which he had annexed, 31. 10. **proficere**, 'advance.'

3. **facultas**, 'means of obtaining,' with objective genitive, *omnium rerum;* usually, 'opportunity'; cp. iii. 9. 6, *facultatem navium; Bell. Civ.* i. 49. 2, *harum omnium rerum facultates praebebat.* Cic. *de Offic.* i. 3. 9, *facultates rerum et copiae.*

4. **muniebatur**, not=*munitum erat*, but implying a continued state of defence, ii. 5, 5; viii. 14. 4, *planiciem, quae... muniebatur; Bell. Civ.* iii. 26. 4, *portus ab Africo tegebatur.* Cic. *in Verr.* iv. 55, 122, *his tabulis parietes vestiebantur*, 'were (and continued to be) clad.' **ad...bellum**, Ariovistus could hold the town till reinforced by fresh hordes, 33. 3, 37. 3, 4.

5. **intermittit**, 'leaves a gap,' 'does not flow'; the space thus left being occupied by a mountain, which reaches right across—this is more closely described by the following words. **radices** is the object, *ripae*, subject of *contingant.*

7. The unusual position of **nocturnis** before **diurnis** (the constant phrase is *dies noctesque*) is meant to give prominence to the night marches; cp. v. 38. 1. The adj. can qualify **nocturnis-itineribus** ('night marches'), the two words forming but one idea, 18. 10 *n.*

39.—1. **rei frumentariae commeatusque**, 48. 2; iii. 23. 7. The *commeatus* comprised all the provisions except the corn; sometimes, as at iii. 3. 1, *reliquus* is added. **ex** ('as a result of') **percontatione**: their anxiety is alike displayed in and increased by their questions. **vocibus**, 'talk'; Cic. *ad Fam.* ii. 16. 2, *voculae.* **ingenti magnitudine**, ii. 30. 4; iv. 1 (of the Suebi). **congressos** is used only of hostile encounters, and so can apply to *Galli*, not *mercatores.* **non mediocriter**, an example of Litotes, by which a strong notion is conveyed under a weak form of speech; cp. 42. 6, *non irridicule*, 'very wittily.' **mentes**, capacity of thinking, 'reason,' they had raised false ideas in their minds; **animos**, capacity of feeling and willing; they had become incapable of action.

2. These officers all belonged to the higher ranks and had never served as privates (Intr. §§ 8, 19), which explains their lack of experience, their unserviceableness in the stress of

war, and fear in the presence of danger. 'Young officers, patricians and knights, who had followed C. for a little mild experience, began to dislike the notion of these new enemies,' Froude, *Caesar*, p. 211. **reliqui**, the *contubernales*, Intr. § 8.

3. **illata** = *in medium prolata;* Phaedr. i. 1. 4, *iurgii causam intulit.* **necessariam**, 'urgent,' 16. 6. **diceret**, 23. 3 *n.* **vultum fingere**, assume an expression to hide their fear.

5. **volgo**, 'on all sides,' v. 33. 6.

6. **rem...posset**, 'or they feared that the corn supply could not be brought up country easily enough,' viz., at such times and in such places as to keep the soldiers in fighting trim. This making of the subject of a subordinate clause the object of a principal one is a Greek idiom, belonging rather to conversational than to literary Latin. Ter. *Eun.* 1035, *scin me in quibus sim gaudiis.* Cic. *ad Fam.* viii. 10. 3, *nosti Marcellum quam tardus sit*, cp. *ib.* iv. 1. 2, *res video quomodo se habeat.*

7. **nuntiarant**, plpf., as forming the *ground* of the rebuke in the next chapter; with *dicebant* ends the description of the state of things in the camp, and C. himself comes to the front. **iussisset**, the following *fore* shows what tense the plpf. subj. here represents, and how it is to be translated, 'when he should command.' [The whole scene of the incident, so few of which we hear of in connection with C. (contrast Xenophon's *Anabasis*) is painted with unmistakeable irony, and at the same time Caesar's unruffled calm and superiority to the general panic stand out in strong relief.] Some however of the unwillingness to fight may well have arisen from dislike of a war unauthorized by Senate or people (Dio Cass. 38. 35), a motive which C. would naturally keep in the background.

40.—1. **omnium...centuriones**: in a council of war only the *primorum ordinum centuriones* (besides the legati and quaestors and tribunes) took part, Intr. § 20. But as this was no council of war, but intended to encourage and admonish the centurions amid the general panic, they all (60 in each legion) attend. **consilium...consilio**, a favourite repetition in C., 6. 1 *n.*, 48. 1, 49. 1, vii. 72. 1, and often. **incusare**, 'rebuke,' distinct from *accusare*, ii. 15. 5.

2. **officio**, loyal gratitude to the Romans.

3. **sibi persuaderi**, 'that *he* was persuaded,' **suam**, Caesar's.

4. **quid vererentur**, 14. 3 *n*. **tandem**, in questions = ποτέ, 'I pray.' **diligentia** often = the careful circumspection and accurate attention to details which marks a good general, opposed to *temeritas*.

5. **cum videbatur**, a striking transition to *or. recta*. Instead of continuing to treat the matter as an indirect argument C. gives the actual state of things with *cum* = *quo tempore*. Plut. (*Caes*. 19) makes him say that he is as great a general as Marius. **servili tumultu**. The Servile war, under Spartacus, was carried on B.C. 73-71, chiefly by the German slaves taken by Marius. **tumultus**, a war in the neighbourhood of Rome, *i.e.*, in Italy or Cisalpine Gaul. Cic. *Phil.* 8. 1, *maiores nostri tumultum Italicum quod erat domesticus, tumultum Gallicum quod erat Italiae finitimus, praeterea nullum nominabant.* The simple ablative as at § 13; *bello Cassiano*, 13. 2. **quos**, antecedent? cp. Liv. ii. 53. 1, *Veiens bellum exortum, quibus Sabini arma coniunxerunt.* xlii. 47. 7, *Calliditatis Graecae, apud quos fallere hostem gloriosius fuit.* **aliquid**, for case cp. iv. 1. 8, *maximam partem*. **usus ac disciplina quae**: the neuter, referring to *two* substantives of different gender, does not occur elsewhere in C.; 'practical experience and discipline' are not to be taken together = *usus disciplinae*, as the plural *sublevarent* also serves to show. Madv. § 213. **sublevarent**, not *sublevassent*, to bring the reader to the standpoint *during* the war; v. 10. 2.

6. **posse** in an apparently subordinate clause, where *posset* might have been expected. But *ex quo* = *et ex eo;* ii. 4. 3, *qua ex re fieri*. **inermos**, of the inadequate equipment of the undisciplined hordes. Flor. iii. 29. 6, *e viminibus pecudumque tegumentis inconditos sibi clipeos, e ferro ergastulorum recocto gladios ac tela fecerunt.* The form *inermus* (*Bell. Civ.* i. 68. 2) is found also in Cic.; *inermis*, ii. 27. 2; iii. 29. 1; vi. 38. 2.

7. **quibuscum** = *quos, cum eis congressi, superaverint.* The relative is attracted by *congressi*, and the chief verb stands without an object, 26. 6 *n*., for the fact, i. 4. **qui**, *Helvetii*. **tamen**, referring to a suppressed clause, 31 (end); cp. § 12 and 15.

8. **sui potestatem facere**, 'give them an opportunity of attacking him.' **ratio**, 'shrewd calculation.' **consilium**, 'well laid plans,' 'strategy.'

9. **capi** = *in fraudem induci.* **ipsum**, *Ariovistum*. **cui...hac**, the relative clause precedes the demonstrative, and *rationi* is drawn into it.

10. 'As for those who threw the blame of their *own* cowardice on to the false pretence of the corn supply and the difficulties of the road, they were acting presumptuously, inasmuch as they seemed to despair of or to limit their general's capacity.' **suum** before its substantive for emphasis.

12. **convictam**=*manifesto cognitam et deprehensam*, 'brought home.' The usual construction is *convincere quem cuius rei.*

13. **innocentiam**, 'integrity,' opposed to *avaritiam.* **perpetua vita**, 'throughout his life.'

14. **longiorem diem**, 'a more distant period.' **repraesentare**, 'bring back to the present from the future,' hence, 'do at once.' Cic. *ad Fam.* v. 16. 6, *neque exspectare temporis medicinam sed r e p r a e s e n t a r e ratione possimus. Phil.* 2. 118, *si repraesentari morte meā libertas civitatis potest.* In mercantile phrase='make a ready money payment.' **Vigilia**, 12. 2 *n.*

15. **decimae legionis**, Intr. p. xxviii. **praetoria cohors**, Intr. § 8. This hint at the guard of his person at once told. The favoured legion was won over to undying devotion, the rest were shamed into loyalty, Intr. p. xliv. On this first and last occasion were Caesar's troops disloyal. **confidere** in Caesar takes dative of person, ablative of thing; iii. 9. 3. **maxime**, placed last for emphasis.

41.—1. **innata est**=*iniectum est* of 46. 4.

3. **egerunt**, treated, vii. 17. 8. **primorum ordinum centuriones**, Intr. § 20. **satisfacerent**=*se excusarent.* **summa belli**, 'the conduct of the war,' ii. 4. 7, 23. 4; v. 11. 8; vii. 20. 5, 57. 3.

4. **alii**=*ceteri. Bell. Civ.* iii. 94. 2, 5, *Pompeius ut equitatum suum pulsum vidit...a l i i s quoque diffisus acie excessit.* The usage, frequent in Livy, is not found in Cicero. For the idiom '*most of*=*more than* all the rest,' cp. Milton, *P. L.* iv. 323, 4, 'Adam, the goodliest man of men since born, | his sons, the fairest of her daughters Eve'—an imitation of Hom. *Il.* B. 673, *κάλλιστος τῶν ἄλλων.* **ut duceret** depends on *itinere exquisito*=as the route had been made out by Divitiacus, who knew the country so well, in such a way that he (Caesar) could lead his army in the open (avoiding the woods and defiles which lay between him and Ariovistus). Though this gave him a wide circuit, taking him by Vesoul and Belfort into the Rhine valley, he thereby avoided the narrow Doubs valley. The *itineris angustiae* had been a chief cause of the panic, 39. 6, 40. 10.

5. **milibus.** Distance of space is more usually expressed by the acc. (Cic. has only this), but C. uses ablative of *spatium, intervallum,* 43. 1; *Bell. Civ.* i. 18. 1, *a Corfinio septem milium i n t e r v a l l o abest.* But cp. ii. 17. 2. When there is no verb of distance (*abesse, distare,* etc.) either case is used; *e.g.*, acc. 21. 1, 22. 5, 49. 1; abl. 43. 2, 48. 1, 2.

42.—1. **de** is often joined by C. with transitive verbs, and must be translated according to the context. With *recusare,* 44. 4; *mittere,* 27. 1; *se excusare,* iv. 22. 1; *impetrare,* iv. 3. 5; *cognoscere,* vii. 1. 1, etc. **postulasset,** *Caesar.* **per se,** 'so far as he was concerned.' **accessisset,** *Caesar.* Ariovistus' reason for refusal (34. 3) no longer held good, and surprised by C.'s sudden arrival, he tries by this reason to avoid any appearance of *compulsion.*

3. **pro,** 'considering,' 2. 5. **beneficiis,** 33. 1. **suis,** *Caesaris.*

5. Ariovistus' demand might well make C. suspect an understanding with the Gallic horse, already untrustworthy enough. C. had raised the Gallic horse to 4000 strong (15. 1); all their horses (including the reserves) would be needed to mount the legionaries, as these were more numerous. **eo** = 'thereon' = *in eos,* 51. 3; v. 14. 5; cp. *ibi,* 38. 7, 49. 5. **quid opus facto**: for the ablative part. instead of inf. with *opus,* cp. Madv. § 266; Roby, § 1255; *quid* is adv. acc. as *aliquid,* 40. 5.

6. **non irridicule,** cp. *non mediocriter,* 39. 1 *n.* Many words compounded with *in* are used only with negatives, *e.g.*, *incallidus, inceleber, improbabilis,* so *absimilis,* iii. 14. 5; 'whereas he had promised only to regard the 10th legion as a body guard he was making them horse guards.' But the joke cannot be translated, the point being that when the phrase *ad equum rescribere* was first used, the cavalry were Romans, whereas they were now provincials. So what had once been a promotion was now a degradation. Allusion is also probably meant to the *equites,* the moneyed class at Rome.

43.—1. **tumulus-terrenus grandis,** 18. 10 *n.*, and cp. Sall. *Jug.* 92. 5, *mons saxeus.* **dictum** = *constitutum.* **spatio,** 41. 5 *n.*

2. **quam equis vexerat,** 'which he had mounted.' **passibus,** 41. 5 *n.*

4. **munera**: Masinissa, with the title of king, received an *aurea corona, aurea patera, sella curulis, scipio eburneus, toga picta* and *palmata tunica,* Liv. xxx. 15. 11. **amplissime,** 'in

the richest abundance,' Cic. *Phil.* v. 19. 53, *ut quibus militibus amplissime donati essent.* Xen. *Anab.* i. 4. 17, Μένωνι δὲ καὶ δῶρα ἐλέγετο πέμψαι μεγαλοπρεπῶς.

5. **aditus**, 'right of access,' 'right'; v. 41. 1; Cic. *ad Fam.* vi. 10. 2, *si qui mihi erit aditus de tuis fortunis agendi.*

6. **appetissent**, 11. 3, 31. 7.

8. **consuetudinem**, Liv. xxxvii. 25. 8, *praeter consuetudinem perpetuam populi Romani, augendi omni honore regum sociorum maiestatem.* **quod attulissent**, viz., independence and leadership, as if they had these already. **posset**: questions which in *or. recta* take the pres. subj., take the impf. in *or. obl.* v. 29. 5, *persuaderet* (=*persuadeat*). On the inf. in question cp. 14. 3 *n.*

9. **in mandatis** = *ut pro mandatis* (*mandatorum loco*) *haberent;* not 'among his instructions,' these being all he gave.

44.—2. **non sine**, cp. *non mediocriter*, 39. 1 *n.* **spe, praemiis**, not hendiadys; cp. iii. 18. 2, *praemiis pollicitationibusque.* **ipsorum voluntate**, contrast 31. 10-13.

3. **ac** comes before *c*, *Bell. Civ.* i. 48. 5, iii. 78. 3; before *g* once, before *q* never. **uno proelio**, 31. 12.

4. **paratus**, (='ready') takes inf. in C., *e.g.*, ii. 3. 3; *Bell. Civ.* i. 7. 7, 20. 5; iii. 9. 5, but usually *ad*='prepared for,' 5. 3, 41. 2, etc. **recusare de**, 42. 1 *n.* Cic. *ad Fam.* iii. 7. 3, *multo plures esse qui de tributis recusent.*

5. **id**, not *eam*, as it refers not to the word *amicitiam*, but to the idea *ut amicus esset.* **remittatur**, 'should be neglected'; the necessity for continuing it would be destroyed if C.'s orders to give up the hostages (35. 3) were carried out.

6. **defendere**, 'keep off,' 'avert': ii. 29. 5; vi. 23. 4; *Bell. Civ.* ii. 2. 4, *ignem defendere.*

8. **sibi** refers to C., **suas** to Ariovistus.

9. **Allobrogum**, 6. 2. **Aedui**, unnecessary after *ipsos*, but added for clearness.

10. **illum**, *tu* of *or. recta* (=*te pro hoste habebo*) usually in *or. obl.* goes into *ille*, sometimes into *is*, as § 12 and 14. 6. **hoste**, by the omission of the prep. (which is carried on from *amico*), *hoste* is strongly emphasized. Liv. x. 26. 13, *similius vero a Gallo hoste quam Umbro cladem acceptam.* Contrast vi. 11. 2.

12. It was probably no empty talk that C.'s enemies in Rome had hinted at the desirability of his death, Intr. p. xxxii. *n.* **redimere**, 37. 2.

13. **discessisset**, but *decedat*, § 11, *interfecerit*, § 12. *nisi decedat=si maneat.* So the pres. subj. is used correctly, not incorrectly, for the pf. or plpf., which stand in the following positive clauses. *interfecerit*, *discessisset*, both=fut. pf. subj.; cp. v. 40. 1.

45.—1. **in eam sententiam**, 'to this effect.' *Bell. Civ.* i. 1. 4, *in eandem sententiam loquitur Scipio*, 'to the same effect.' **pati**, change of construction. **merentes**, not *meritos*, as their services were still good.

2. **bello...Rutenos**, Intr. p. xi. **neque**=*et quos non; quos* to be supplied from *quibus;* this ellipse seemed less harsh than the repeated relative. Sall. *Jug.* 101. 5, *cum peditibus quos Volux adduxerat neque* (=*et qui non*) *affuerant.* In such a case the demonstrative is often added: Cic. *Brut.* 74. 258, *omnes qui nec extra urbem vixerant, nec eos barbaries infuscaverat.* The relative is often repeated, *quibus...quosque*, 28. 5; iv. 21. 7. Here, too, note that a verb follows with the dative.

3. **quodsi...imperium**: Ariovistus had claimed *se prius in Galliam venisse quam populum Romanum* (44. 7), to which C. replies that 'if in every case respect ought to be paid to mere priority of occupation,' the victory of Q. Fabius Maximus over the Arverni and Ruteni, B.C. 121, gave this advantage to the Romans. **quam...voluisset**, causal, **victam**, concessive. The Romans after this victory left the Arverni and Ruteni free.

46.—1. **accedere et adequitare, lapides conicere**, cp. 23. 1, *avertit ac contendit;* 31, 12, *imperare, poscere et edere;* but here the first two verbs on grounds easily seen are joined by a conjunction, and the third added without any copula; cp. 50. 1. **propius** in C. takes accusative or dative, 1. 4.

2. **facit**, the pres. (followed by pfs.) to denote the sudden breaking up of proceedings. **ad suos...suisque**, as before *ad nostros adequitare telaque in nostros conicere.*

3. **per fidem**=*fide data adductos*, 'through their trust in his word.' *per* is often used of that which gives security, and hence at times causes disappointment; viii. 48. 3, *vulnera per fidem imposita; Bell. Civ.* iii. 82. 5, *per eius auctoritatem deceptus.* [The whole scene shows how anxious C. was to throw the whole responsibility of the war on to Ariovistus.]

4. **elatum est**, 'was spread abroad.' **Gallia**, ablative, **Romanis**, dative after *interdixisset.* **impetum fecissent** depends on *qua arrogantia* (sc. *usi*), not on *ut*, to be supplied.

47.—1. Ariovistus would have it appear as if he had nothing to do with the late occurrence. **neque,** 'but not,' iv. 26, 5; vii. 45. 4, 62. 8. **eos** for *se*, 5. 4 *n*, 6. 3, 11. 3. **coeptus,** usually with pass. infs., *coepi*, with active, *e.g.*, ii. 6. 2. **uti,** note change of construction.

3. **legatum e suis,** 'one of his men as his representative' (not 'one of his envoys' = *e suis legatis*), corresponding to Ariovistus's request that if C. could not come in person *e suis aliquem mitteret.*

4. **C. V. Procillus,** 19. 3. C. here speaks of him as if mentioned for the first time. **humanitas,** 'refinement,' 'culture.' **qua,** *lingua*, **multa,** 'freely,' 'extensively.' The idea of 'much' or 'often' is not seldom expressed by an adj. not by an adv. with verb., *e.g.*, Sall. *Jug.* 96. 3, *multus adesse.* **longinquus,** of time, *Bell. Civ.* iii. 80. 3, *l o n g i n q u a oppugnatio;* cp. *longior* = 'more distant,' 40. 14. **in eo,** 'in his case,' 'with regard to him.'

6. **conclamavit,** 'shouted aloud,' the army was to hear it. The word is common in poets, *e.g.*, Verg. *Aen.* 3. 523. A like intensive force is in *con-tendere*, *col-lacrimare*, *con-vellere*, *com-minuere.* **quid...venirent** = *quid venitis?* **prohibuit:** as ambassadors their persons would be sacred; A. therefore would not allow them to speak in the hearing of the army, the easier to treat them as spies.

48.—1. **castra,** repeated in various cases four times in this section (as *locus*, c. 49), illustrates C.'s preference, on occasion, of distinctness to all other qualities of style.

3. **instructam,** 'drawn up,' predicate. **ut...non,** 'so that ...not,' consecutive, not final, when *non deesset* would have to make up a single idea.

4. **exercitus,** 'infantry,' ii. 11. 2; vii. 61. 2, 80. 1, 2.; cp. *Bell. Civ.* iii. 47. 2, *militum equitumque.*

5. **hoc,** 'the following.' This mode of fighting (cp. vii. 65. 4) occurs in nearly all accounts of German wars, and is given by Tac. (*Germ.* 6) as a peculiarity of the Germans. So of the Gauls at Alesia, vii. 80. 3; see Intr. § 10 *n*. **copia,** 'numbers' = *multitudine* (not = *copiis*). *Bell. Civ.* i. 45. 7, *augebatur illis copia;* Cic. *p. Muren.* 37. 78, *ea c o p i a quam secum duxit.* **singuli singulos.** With this individual choice cp. the form of oath given by Liv. xxii. 38. 3.

6. **durius,** 'at all untoward'; *durus*, often of anything untoward or which endangers the undertaking in hand; *Bell. Civ.* iii. 94. 6, *siquid durius acciderit* = 'a greater danger

than usual.' **si qui**, *qui* (after *si*, *nisi*, *ne*, *num*) is usually adj., but sometimes substantival, vi. 13. 6, 9.

7. **si quo erat...recipiendum**, but *se recipere*='to retreat'; cp. iii. 4. 4, *sui recipiendi.* But *recipio* is also used intransitively, vii. 52. 1; *Bell. Civ.* iii. 46. 5, *quibus ad recipiendum crates impedimento fuerunt.* Ennius quoted by Cic. *Tusc.* i. 44. 107, *sepulcrum quo recipiat.* **cursum, iubis**, both with the same gen. *equorum.*

49.—1. **locus**, five times repeated, 6. 1 *n.*, 48. 1 *n.* **triplici acie**, Intr. § 13.

3. **expedita** agreeing with *milia* is peculiar, ii. 4. 5 and 7; v. 49. 1. Contrast iv. 1. 4. See also Intr. § 26. obs. 1.

4. **opus**, 'the fortification.'

5. **ibi**, 'therein,' 38. 7 *n.* **partem**, 'half.' **castra munire**, *i.e.*, his first camp.

50.—1. **instituto suo**, 'according to his previous custom.' C. often uses the abl. thus: ii. 19. 2, *consuetudine sua;* vi. 36. 1, *praeceptis Caesaris;* vii. 24. 5. **eduxit, fecit**, asyndeton, as 7. 2 *n*, 46. 1.

2. **quae oppugnaret**, 'to attack,' final clause.

3. **occasu**, '*at* the setting,' 13. 2 *n.* Add to the abls. there quoted *adventu*, *discessu*, v. 54. 2; vii. 65. 5.

4. **decertare**, 'fight it out,' 'offer a *decisive* battle'; in some good writers (not C.)=*certare.* **sortibus**, 'by casting lots.' Tac. *Germ.* 10, *virgam frugiferae arbori decisam in surculos amputant, eosque notis quibusdam discretos super candidam vestem tenere et fortuito spargunt. Mox, si publice consultetur, sacerdos civitatis, sin privatim, ipse pater familiae precatus deos caelumque suspiciens, ter singulos tollit sublatosque secundum impressam ante notam interpretatur.* The Eng. 'lot' (Old High Germ. *hliozan*, Modern Germ. *Los*)=a twig broken or cut off; just as κλῆρος is connected with κλάω, 'I break off.' C. (who mentions no priestly caste among the Germans) makes the 'Wise Women' do what Tacitus gives as the office of the priests: *vetere apud Germanos more, quo plerasque feminarum fatidicas arbitrantur*, Tac. *Hist.* iv. 61. **ex usu**, 30. 2 *n.* **fas**, 'will of the gods.'

51.—1. **alarios**, 'auxiliaries'; Intr. § 11. obs. 1. These C. posted *in conspectu hostium* that Ariovistus might believe them to be legionaries. **minus**, 'less than he could have

wished,' *i.e.*, 'not very'; cp. *durius*, 48. 6. **pro**, 2. 5. **ad speciem**, 'to make a show' (of strength).

2. **necessario**, Plut. *Caes.* 19, *προσβολὰς ποιούμενος ἐρύμασι... ἐξηγρίαινε καὶ παρώξυνε καταβάντας πρὸς ὀργὴν διαγωνίσασθαι.* According to Cassius xxxviii. 48 he let himself be led away by the success of the day before, so far as to pay no heed to the oracular sayings. **suas**, not necessary; cp. ii. 7. 3; iv. 1. 1; v. 22. 2, *nostri suos reduxerunt.* **generatim**, 'according to tribes,' vii. 19. 2.

3. **eo**, 'thereon,' 42. 5 *n.* **passis manibus**, 'with outstretched hands' [whereas *passis crinibus*, a more usual expression, vii. 48. 3, 'with dishevelled hair,' would be a sign of grief and despair, not of supplication].

52.—1. Of his six legions C. placed five under the command of *legati*, the sixth (which was in especial connection with himself) under the *quaestor* (Intr. § 18); he of course directed the whole.

2. **a**, 1. 5 *n.* **cornu**, of his own army. **eam partem**, *i.e.*, the left wing of the Germans.

3. **ita acriter**, 'so fiercely'; *itaque* = *et ita*. **pila coniciendi.** The gerund of a transitive verb usually is changed into the gerundive, Roby, vol. 2, p. lxviii. Use of gerund avoids an awkward plural.

4. **phalange facta**, sing., because C. is merely giving the *method* of formation, but at § 5, where the separate bodies of the Germans *generatim* are meant, the pl. is appropriate.

5. **complures**, 'in many cases'; in Latin, when there is no real partition, numerals and like words agree in case; vii. 47. 7, *tres suos manipulares*; iv. 12. 2; *Bell. Civ.* iii. 28. 1, *nostrae naves duae* = *nostrae naves quae duae erant.* **qui insilirent**, 'who dared to leap upon.' Their shields formed a wall against a sword-attack, and this wall had to be broken down. [Crit. App.]

6. **sinistro...dextro**, *Germanorum.* **a**, 'on.'

7. **adulescens**, added to distinguish him from his father the triumvir. **expeditior**, 'freer to act,' not being in the thick of the fight.

53.—1. The Germans, after the one furious onset, not having husbanded their strength, were entirely beaten. "The Germans fought like heroes, but they could not stand against the short sword and hand-to-hand grapple of the

legionaries. Better arms and better discipline again asserted the supremacy" (Froude, p. 215). **omnes**, emphatic. **pervenerunt**, cp. the mood and tense of *conaretur*, 19. 3. **milia passuum quinque**, the 'extensive plain' (43. 1) points to the battle having been fought in Upper Alsace and so near the Rhine. [Göler and Napoleon put it near Sennheim (Cernay); Schlumberger (assuming the reading *quinquaginta*, see Crit. App.) at the stream of St. Nicolas near La Chapelle-Sous-Rougemont. According to Göler, by the Rhine the *Ill* is meant.]

3. Ariovistus seems to have died soon after, v. 29. 3. **equitatu**, 8. 1 *n.* **consequi**, 'catch.'

4. **duae uxores**: Tac. *Germ.* 18: *prope soli barbarorum singulis uxoribus contenti sunt, exceptis admodum paucis, qui... ob nobilitatem plurimis nuptiis ambiuntur.*

5. **Procillus, Metius**, 47. 4. **trinis** (not *tribus*), as *catenae* in C. (and usually in prose) is used only in plural. Distinguish *terni*, which always = 'three each.'

6. **neque...quicquam**, 'and because...nothing.' **calamitate**, 'death,' 18. 9 *n.* **gratulatio**, in passive sense, 'occasion of congratulating himself,' so *gratulari* (with or without *sibi*): Cic. *p. Mur.* 40. 86, *ne...Murenae recentem gratulationem nova lamentatione obruatis.*

7. **ter**, a sacred number; cp. the passage of Tac. quoted at 50. 4.

54.—1. **ad ripas Rhodani**, for the position cp. 37. 3 *n.* **quos...iis**, 12. 3 *n.*

3. **ad conventus agendos**, 'in order to hold the assizes'; it was one of the proconsul's duties in the winter (Cic. *ad Att.* v. 14. 2; Liv. xxxiv. 48. 2) at fixed places to announce these (*indicere dies*); cp. v. 1. 5, 2. 1; vi. 44. 3; vii. 1. 1. [Cp. the use of sing. *conventus* = 'a meeting,' 18. 2.] C. had still more weighty reasons for going to Rome, viz., the furtherance of his political ends.

BOOK II.

WAR WITH THE BELGAE, B.C. 57.

[Flor. iii. 10. 4, *longe longeque cruentior pugna Belgarum quippe pro libertate pugnantium.*]

CH. **1.**—1. **quam.** We should have expected *quos*, i. 38. 1 *n.* **dixeramus,** viz. in i. 1. 1. By this peculiar use of the plpf. the explanatory clause is brought into connection, as a past historical fact, with the entire narrative. It may be translated by our impf. Cp. 24. 1, 28. 1; iv. 27. 2, *quem demonstraveram a Caesare praemissum* = *quem Caesar praemiserat.* **contra p. R. coniurare.** Introd. p. xxii.

2. The causes of the Belgic conspiracy were, (1) fear of a Roman invasion, (2) dislike to a Roman occupation, (3) general uneasiness and love of change, (4) inability on the part of wealthier chieftains to encroach, if Rome's strong repressive hand was laid on them. **coniurandi,** where *eius rei* would suffice, is due to Caesar's love of distinctness. Cp. iii. 1, *misit —causa mittendi;* iv. 1. 1 and 2, *transierunt—causa transeundi erat.* **Gallia,** *i.e.*, Keltic Gaul, or Gaul proper, i. 1. 1; 35. 1. **ad eos,** *se* would be more regular; i. 5. 2 *n.*; Roby, § 2268. *b.*

3. **noluerant,** ind. because it is a remark of Caesar inserted. **inveterascere,** 'growing into a fixture.' **partim...partim qui** =*tales ut*, subdivision of *nonnulli;* with **ab nonnullis** (in § 4) supply *Belgae sollicitabantur.* **mobilitate,** for this characteristic cp. iii. 10. 3, 19. 6; iv. 5. 1 and Michelet's 'cette jeune, molle et mobile race de Gaels, brillante, semelle et légère, prompte à apprendre, prompte à dédaigner, avide des choses nouvelles.' Rather than submit to foreign rule, the Belgae, like the Aedui (i. 17. 3), preferred to be subject to the Gauls.

4. **conducere,** 'take into their pay,' v. 27. 8; vii. 31. 5. **facultates,** i. 18. 4. **eam rem** = *regnum.* **imperio nostro,** i. 18. 9 *n.*

2.—1. **commotus,** i. 37. 4. **duas leg. conscripsit,** Introd. p. xxvii. **inita aestate,** so Caesar often (and *initur* not *init*), never the commoner *ineunte.* The words depend closely on **deduceret** rather than on **misit.** Caesar meant to start later, when the legions were combined and the commissariat arranged for.

2. **cum primum...inciperet.** The conj. because a reason is given (usually the ind., *e.g.*, iii. 9. 2); cp. Cic. *Phil.* iii. 20. 3, *Caesar, cum maxime furor arderet Antonii, exercitum comparavit.* Roby, §§ 1720, 1721, 1723.

3. **ea...cognoscant,** 'take notice of,' is different from *c. de re*, 'receive information of.'

4. **constanter,** 'with one consent.'

5. In *dubitandum non est, noli dubitare* (if *d.* = 'hesitate') *quin* stands instead of the usual inf.; cp. iii. 23. 7, *non cunctandum existimavit, quin.*

3.—1. **celerius...opinione,** 'quicker than one could have thought': the more frequent phrases are *praeter* (*contra*) *omnium opinionem* (iv. 30. 1); *omnium spe citius*, and the like. **proximi Galliae,** *i.e.*, on the line of Caesar's march. **ex Belg.** =*inter Belgas*, i. 41. 4.

2. **primos civitatis,** 13. 1. **permittere,** as no ambiguity is caused, and the repetition would be displeasing, the subject *se* is omitted; cp. i. 7. 3; ii. 31. 3; v. 20. 2; vi. 40. 6 *n.*; vii. 89. 2.

3. **paratos...dare,** i. 44. 4 *n.* **imperata facere,** a formula of surrender=*sese dedere*, and used with that phrase, v. 20. 2. **oppidis,** for abl. without *in* with *recipere*, see i. 40 8 *n.* **recipere,** the object is easily supplied.

4. **Germanos,** 4. 10. **cis.** *i.e.*, on the Gallic side; so *citra flumen Rhenum*, 29. 4.

5. 'So great was the excitement of the united peoples that they were unable to deter from the combination even the Suessiones their own kin, nay blood-relations, who enjoy the same civil rights and laws, and have one martial rule (*imperium*) and one form of government with themselves.' **Isdem** =*iisdem*, i. 31. 1. **utantur...habeant,** *asyndeton*; cp. i. 7. 2.

4.—1. 'on inquiring of them the names and sizes of the states under arms, and what forces they could put in the field.' **Sic,** not *haec*, for **reperiebat** is used absolutely (cp. 15. 4, *sic respondebatur*; i. 13. 6). **Belgas...ortos...ab G.** This is especially true of the Nervii and Treveri, of whom Tac., *Germ.* 28, says, *circa affectationem Germanicae orginis ultro ambitiosi sunt.* Intr. p. xxi. **Rhenum,** acc. after *traductos*: double acc., i. 12. 2; cp. 5. 4.

3. **omni Gallia,** including the Province and Aquitania, according to Livy, Epit. 67. For the facts cp. i. 33. **Teutoni,** i. 33. 4 *n.* **ingredi**: with *prohibere* Caesar uses simple inf., or acc. and inf. (as usually Cic. and Livy), never *quominus*; with *recusare* he uses inf. (iii. 22. 3), or *quominus* (i. 31. 7). **prohibuerint,** for tense, Roby, § 1516.

3. **memoriā,** abl. of the reason. **spiritus,** i. 33. 5.

4. **dicebant...cognoverint.** Notice change of tense. **habere explorata,** stronger than *explorasse*; cp. i. 15. 1; 18. 3.; Liv. xxv. 38. 16, *exploratum habeo*; 28. 5, *quae facta haberent.* This is the origin of our perf., 'I have collected,' etc. **propinquitas,** *συγγένεια*, 'relation by blood'; **affinitas,** *κηδεστία*, 'relation by marriage.' **Quisque,** each representative, strictly, but implies *quaeque pars Belgarum*; cp. *quemque*, 10. 4.

5. **conficere**, 'make up.' **armata** = *armatorum.*

6. **fines** of the extent, **agri**, the character of the soil, i. 49. 3. 2. The two are combined, vii. 13. 3 and viii. 2. 2, *copiosissimos agros...latos fines.*

7. **Divitiacus**, not of course the Aeduan. **Britanniae**, first mention of Britain by a Roman writer: D.'s sway cannot have reached far inland. **summam** = *summum imperium.*

8. **longissime.** Their territory extended right up to the Ocean; this distance accounts for their want of civilization; i. 1. 3; ii. 15. 4.

10. **appellantur**, ind. as it is a remark of the author; cp. i. 2. 5; and contrast 3. 4, *incolant.* **arbitrari**, sc. *se*, viz., the Remi.

5. (See plan at end of Intr.)—1. **cohortatus**, 'after encouraging the Remi and honouring them with a gracious speech.' **liberaliter**, iv. 18. 3. **prosequi**, strictly = 'escort,' Cic. *Tusc.* ii. 25, *honorificis verbis prosecutus esset:* it is a favourite with Caesar, *verbis, laudibus, misericordia, beneficiis prosequi.* **senatum**, a Roman name is given to a foreign institution; cp. 28. 2, and i. 31. 6, the *senatores* of the Nervii. **ad diem** = *ad certam* (fixed) *diem*, v. 1. 8.

2. **quanto...intersit**, 'how eminently important it is for the state (Rome), and for their common safety (*i.e.*, of Romans and Aeduans).' A happy touch on Caesar's part to identify the interests of the two nations. The construction with gen. is equivalent to the form *ad c. salutem.* Cic. *ad Fam.* iv. 10. 2, *multum interesse rei familiaris tuae, te quam primum venire.*

4. **ad se.** The idea of approach preponderates, even when *ad* seems to be = *adversus.* **vidit** = *intellexit*, viz., by the *exploratores.* On **ab** see i. 22. 2 *n.* **ibi**, on N. bank of the Axona, by the village of Berry-au-Bac, on the road from Rheims to Laon.

5. **quae res...muniebat**, 'this position.' The turn of the sentence in place of *qua re...muniebatur* is preferred because of the following abl. **ripis** (for the plural, see i. 37. 3); cp. iv. 1. 9. **muniebat**, the impf. points to the permanence of the camp; cp. i. 18. 3. **post...essent**, 'all in his rear,' lit., 'such places as were'; hence the mood. For the position of **post eum** cp. *vix qua*, i. 6. 1 *n.*

6. **praesidium**, any garrisoned place; here = '*tête-du-pont.*' **altera parte**, on the left or S. bank. **duodeviginti pedum** 18 ft. (wide), Intr. § 29. 6. So always in Caesar (unless depth is expressly mentioned), it being the most important element in fortification works. **pedum...pedum.** Note the *Chiasmus;*

cp. 10. 4 ; 12. 2 ; vi. 12 and 16 ; vii. 1, 42, 47, 63, 66, 77, 80. **munire iubet.** The subject of *munire* is omitted (as v. 33. 3 ; 34. 1, etc.) (1) when it can easily be supplied from the word itself, as *milites* here, (2) when it is a general order, given to no one in particular. In this construction the pass. inf. with acc. (*castra muniri*) is more usual. Madv. § 390, note 1.

6.—1. **ex itinere**, i. 25. 6 *n.* **sustentatum est**, 'they (lit. 'it was') held out'; cp. § 4, *sustinere*, and vii. 86. 2. Contrast construction in v. 39. 4, *aegre is dies sustentatur.*

2. **oppugnatio.** In the mode of siege described below an immediate attack was possible without the usual siege-works. Verbal substantives in *-io* often express (1) the *method* of doing a thing, (2) the *possibility* of doing it; *e.g.*, vi. 21. 5, *occultatio.* **totis moenibus**, abl., 'along the whole line of the fortifications,' vii. 72. 4. **coepti sunt**, i. 47. 1 n.

3. **testudine f.**, 'they formed a *testudo.*' Intr. § 15. 5. Tennyson, 'Dream of Fair Women,' 'heroes tall | dislodging pinnacle and parapet | upon the *tortoise* creeping to the wall.' **succedunt**, 'come up (to the walls),' opposed to the earlier fighting at a distance. Tac. *Hist.* iii. 27, *primo sagittis saxisque e m i n u s certabant...tum elatis supra capita scutis, densa testudine s u c c e d u n t.* Sall. *Jug.* 57. 4, *pars eminus lapidibus pugnare, alii succedere ac murum suffodere* [*succendunt*, the ms. reading, can hardly be right, as they do *not* burn the gates]. **conicerent**, plur., because *multitudo* implies plurality. Liv. xxiv. 3. 15, *Locros omnis multitudo abeunt.* **nulli**, note emphatic position ; cp. i. 2. 1, *Orgetorix.*

4. **summa nob.**, i. 18. 3 *n.* **gratia**, 'popularity,' 'influence,' i. 9. 3. **praefuerat**=*qui praepositus erat, et tum praerat.*

7.—1. **eo**=*in eum locum, in urbem*, i. 38. 7 *n.* [Schneider makes it=*ideo.*] **ducibus usus**, 'employing as guides.' The pf. pt. of deponents and semi-deponents is often used of an action contemplated with the chief action, instead of the present, v. 7. 3. **Numidas**, famous for cavalry, as we see in the Punic Wars, but Caesar used them as light infantry ; cp. 10. 1. Bowmen from the date of the Punic Wars formed regular divisions of the Roman infantry. **Baleares**, Strabo, *Geogr.* iii. p. 168, *σφενδονῆται ἄριστοι λέγονται.* The slingers used stones and *glandes* or leaden bullets.

2. **adventu.** Verbal substantives in abl. express (1) time, (2) combined time and ground of action, as here; cp. i. 32. 2 *n.*

cum spe...accessit, 'with the hope of beating them off came also an impulse to act on the offensive' = *animus augetur* of vii. 70. 3. **potiundi** is here pass. as often; cp. iii. 6. 2. Liv. xxiii. 15. 1, *cupidus maritimi oppidi potiundi.*

3. **quos** agrees with the more important antecedent. **omn. copiis,** instrumental abl. i. 8. 1 *n.* **ab...duobus,** 'at a distance of less than two miles.' **ab,** cp. 30. 3; iv. 22. 4; v. 32. 1. **minus,** adverbial, i. 38. 5 *n.*

4. **castra...quae castra,** for the repetition, i. 6. 1 *n.* **amplius,** here with abl. of comparison, i. 38. 5 *n.*

8.—1. **Eximiam,** 'their extraordinary reputation for valour (not = *op. virtutis eximiae*), 24. 4, 35. 1; vi. 24. 3. **proelio,** 'a decisive engagement,' i. 50. 4.

2. **periclitabatur,** 'was making trial,' i. 40. 5 *n.*; cp. Plaut. *Amph.* 688, *an periclitamini quid animi habeam?*

3. **loco...opportuno** = *cum locus opp. esset,* 'as the place was adapted for deploying troops.' Abl. absolute, cp. 9. 2; iv. 1. 10. **ubi** = *in quo,* i. 38. 7 *n.* **adversus,** 'facing the enemy.' **ex utraque...redibat,** 'on either side had a steep drop, while in front it sloped gently and sank gradually down to the level.' **lat. deiectus** = *latera praerupta.*

4. **transversam...obduxit** (cp. *Bell. C.* iii. 46. 1, *fossam... obduci iussit*), 'he drew forward a trench at right angles to the ridge and on each flank.' **passuum CD.,** viz., in length. **extremas,** 'at the ends of,' so usually with adjectives which denote position, *summus mons, medius collis,* i. 24. 2. Kraner suggests that if the fortifications were then in the same state as now, C.'s memory may have failed him. **castella,** 'redoubts.' **tormenta** (*torqueo*), Intr. § 32.

5. **duabus leg.,** consisting mainly of recruits (*tirones*), Intr. § 12. 1. **Si quo opus,** 'whithersoever they might be required.'

9.—1. **palus,** through which the stream la Miette flows, **si.** 'to see if,' i. 8. 4; v. 43. 6; vi. 29. 4, 37. 4; vii. 20. 10, 55. 9, 89. 5. **ut...aggred.,** not dependent on *parati,* which is used absolutely, but 'they stood ready under arms, that,' etc. Sall. *Jug.* 91. 2, *milites...uti simul cum occasu solis egrederentur paratos esse iubet.*

2. **neutri...faciunt,** because the crossing would break their ranks and throw them into disorder. **secundo proelio,** abl. absolute 8. 3, 'after that the cavalry skirmish had determined rather in our favour.'

3. **demonstratum**, 5. 4.

4. **castellum**, the *tête du pont* on the left bank, 5. 6. **si possent...potuissent.** Observe the accuracy in the use of these tenses. **minus posse**, 'to be unable,' *litotes.* **interscindo**, 'break down,' vii. 24. 5; cp. *inter-ire, inter-imere, inter-necio.* By means of this bridge C. got his provisions from the Remi. **usui**, predicative dat. Roby, § 1158. 599.

10.—1. **Numidas**, 7. 1 *n.*

2. **in eo loco**, *i.e.*, where he fell in with the enemy. **impeditos**, 'occupied' with the crossing. **hostes...eorum**, i. 12. 3 *n.*

3. **per**, 'over,' iii. 26. 5; iv. 33, 3.

4. **res frument.** The Gauls accustomed only to raids did not provide stores. **neque** = *et non*, which is almost unknown in Latin. **quemque** = *quamque partem Belgarum.* **esse...convenirent** would in *or. recta* be *est...conveniamus*, hence the change of construction, though both verbs depend on *constituerunt.* For use of copula in such a case cp. Liv. xxi. 24. 3.

5. **sententiam**, 'resolution.' **Div....appropinquare**, at C.'s suggestion, 5. 3. **cognoverant**, the ind. emphasizes the *fact* as opposed to their *thought* about it. **neque** is used because there are not two distinct actions; *auxilium ferrent* is contained as a natural conclusion in *diutius morarentur.*

11.—1. **vigilia**, i. 12. 2 *n.* **magno cum strep.**, the normal position of a prep. with an adj. and subst. is before both; some phrases are invariable [contrast *ob eam rem*, *ad eas res* with *quam ob rem*, *qua de causa*]. But when the adj. is to be emphasized it is placed before the preposition; this is the usual place of superlatives; cp. i. 10. 2, 18. 9, 41. 1. **nullo ...imperio**, abl. absolute giving the reason of the words *magno ...tumultu.* **Consimilis**, 'quite like'; the *con-* is emphatic, as in *conclamare*, i. 47. 6 *n.* **fugae**, dat., v. 12. 3; vi. 27. 1.

2. **Caesar**, placed between the parts of the abl. absolute to denote to whom the action thereby expressed refers, vii. 17. 1; *B. C.* iii. 12. 1, *recepto C. Orico proficiscitur.* **speculatores... exploratores**, Intr. § 22 obs. **discederent**, 'were on the move.' **exercitum equ.**, i. 48. 4 *n.*

3. **subsequi**, 'to follow *close.*'

4. **novissimos...eorum**, i. 12. 3 *n.* **ab**, i. 1. 5 *n.* **extr. agmen**, 'the rear,' usually *novissimi, novissimum agmen.* **ad quos** refers to *agmen* (by the construction *κατὰ σύνεσιν*), as § 3,

his to *equitatum* ; § 4, *hi* to *equitatus* and *leg. tribus*, together ; cp. 23. 3, *legiones...congressi.*

5. **exaudito...ordinibus.** C. often uses two ablatives absolute side by side, when the first contains the time or reason of the second; i. 24. 5 *n* ; ii. 26. 3 ; iii. 3. 3 ; *B. C.* i. 46. 1, *consumptis omnibus telis gladiis destrictis.*

6. **tantum...quantum,** 'killed as many of them as the continuance of daylight allowed,' lit., 'they slew so great a number as there was space of day.'

12.—1. **priusquam,** with subj., because C.'s purpose is expressed=*ne prius*, as at i. 19. 3, 'before they should recover themselves.' **ex fuga,** 'after their flight,' *i.e.*, from the exertions and the defeat they had suffered ; *fuga se recipere*, i. 11. 5, is quite different. **magno itin.,** about 28 miles. **confecto,** perhaps = 'which he accomplished successfully.' [See Crit. App.] C.'s purpose of separating the tribes was quite accomplished, and he had now only to conquer them one by one.

2. **ex itin.,** i. 25. 6 *n.* ; ii. 6. 1. **expugnare,** 'to carry it,' *i.e.*, by the *oppugnatio repentina.* Intr. § 30, obs. The huge trench would have to be filled up and covered over before the walls could be scaled with ladders ; so C. resorted to blockade (*obsessio*). **paucis def.,** '*though* the defenders were few,' concessive ; cp. *n.* on *pauci*, i. 15. 2.

3. **vineas,** Intr. § 31. **quaeque,** 'and in especial.'

4. **ex fuga** depends on *convenit*, but also qualifies *multitudo* =*omnis quae in fuga erat m.*, *ex fuga in opp. convenit* ; cp. same compression, vii. 24. 5. They must have approached the town on the side away from C.'s entrenchments.

5. **aggere,** Intr. § 30 ; cp. Verg. *Aen.* ix. 567, *fossas aggere complent* [contrast *exstruere aggerem*, 'to raise a mound' from which to throw missiles ; *iacere aggerem*, to level a ditch for the free use of machines. Sall. *Jug.* 76. 3.] Tac. *Ann.* xii. 45, *nihil tam ignarum barbaris quam machinamenta et astus oppugnationum.* **conservarentur** depends on *petentibus* ; it implies granting of pardon, life and liberty, 15. 1.

13.—1. **primis** is the subject, 3. 2. **omn. ex oppido,** compressed construction, as 12. 4 *n.*

2. **fidem ac pot.,** 3. 2. **venire,** 'gave themselves up,' vi. 3. 2.

3. **accessisset...poneret.** Notice contrast of the tenses, 'had come near...was in act of,' etc. **passis man.,** i. 51. 3 *n.*

14.—1. **eum**, Caesar.

2. **omn. indignitates**, 'every kind of unworthy treatment.'

4. **principes** = *auctores*, 'ringleaders,' v. 54. 4; vi. 4. 1; vii. 37. 6.

5. **sua...utatur**, cp. 31. 4; 'display his well-known clemency and humanity,' *clementia* of one in authority, contrasted with *severitas, crudelitas; mansuetudo* of man as man, contrasted with *feritas*. **eos**, not *se*.

6. **sustentare**, either absolute as 6. 1, 'to live'; or, with obj. *bella*, as *inopiam, famem sustentare*. **consuerint** = *soleant*, sc. Aedui. In or. recta, *si qua b. inciderunt...consuerunt* (= *solent*), vi. 13. 6; *si qui decreto non stetit, sacrificiis interdicunt;* cp. iv. 1. 5 *n*.

15.—1. **honoris...causa**, 'to do honour to D. and the Aedui.' **in fidem**, to take into his protection, admit to pardon after voluntary submission made. **quod...poposcit**, by the *asyndeton* the opposition between the two clauses is enforced; 'though for D.'s sake he pardoned them, *yet*,' etc.

3. **attingebant.** This impf. is frequent in geographical statements, as in English and Greek, Xen. *Anab.* iv. 8. 1. ποταμὸς ὃς ὥριζε τὴν τῶν Μακρώνων. **sic rep.**, 4. 1 *n*.

4. **nullum aditum** = *non licere adire*. **nihil...vini** = *non pati quidquam vini*, the neg. really qualifying the verb. **inferri** = *importari* of iv. 2. 6. **relanguescere animos**, a general statement, not confined to the Nervii. The German origin of the N. showed itself in their mode of life more than in that of the other tribes. Tac. *Germ.* 28, *Treveri et Nervii citra affectationem Germanicae originis ultro ambitiosi sunt tamquam per hanc gloriam sanguinis a similitudine et inertia Gallorum separentur.*

5. **magnaeque**, gen. of quality coupled with an adj., v. 35. 6, 54. 2; *B. C.* ii. 15. 1, *aggerem novi generis atque inauditum.* **qui proiecissent**, 'forasmuch as they had completely abandoned,' *proicio* = fling away as worthless.

6. **confirmare**, i. 3. 7 *n*.

16.—1. **triduum**, 'for three days,' not to be taken with *iter*. **inveniebat** = *quaerendo cognoscebat*. **amplius**, i. 15. 5 *n*.

2. **Atrebati**, elsewhere in C. *Atrebates*.

4. **per aetatem**, *i.e.*, from extreme youth or age. **exercitui**, '*an* army.' **quo...esset**, 'inaccessible to an armed force because of the marshes.'

17.—1. **locum...castris**, Intr. § 29. 2.

2. **eorum...exercitus**, 'the order of the march of our troops during three days.' For the accumulation of genitives, i. 19. 5, 30. 2 *n.*; vii. 76. 2; Cic. *Tusc.* ii. 15. 35, *functio vel animi vel corporis gravioris operis et muneris.* **neque...negotii.** The same thing is differently expressed, v. 38. 3. **in castra**, *i.e.*, the site marked out for the camp. **in sarcinis**, 'with their packs on,' not = *impedimenta*, i. 24. 3; Intr. § 26. On the marching order here described, Intr. § 14. 1.

4. **Nervii antiquitus.** 'The N. in old time having no force of cavalry (for to this day they pay no attention to that arm, but what power they have is in their infantry), in order the easier to hamper the movements of their neighbours' cavalry on marauding expeditions, used to clip trees while they were saplings and bend them over. The result was that when boughs shot out laterally in great profusion, and brambles and briars had been interspersed, the hedges thus formed presented barriers like a wall, through which it was impossible to see, much more to force a way.' **incidere**, 'clip.' Cic. *ad Att.* iv. 2. 5, *qui mihi pinnas inciderant, nolunt easdem renasci.* **instar**, in apposition with *munimenta.* **quo** = *in quae munimenta*, i. 42. 5. The hedges are not frontier fortresses, for C. had been already three days in the territory of the Nervii (16. 1), but boundary marks of their separate districts. See 22. 1.

18.—1. **loci...locum**, i. 6. 1 *n.* **summo**, subst. **aequaliter**, 'consistently,' 'uniformly.' **quod**, i. 38. 1 *n.*

2. **ab e. f.**, *i.e.*, on the other bank. **acclivitas**, a slope upwards. **declivitas** (cp. *declivis* § 1), a slope downwards. **nascebatur**, 'rose,' not often used = *oriebatur*; i. 1. 6. **adversus**, 'immediately opposite,' 'facing.' **contr.**, corresponding to it, running parallel to it on the opposite bank. **passus cc**, goes closely with *infimus apertus*, and is *not* the distance from the river to the hill, for that extended to the river itself (*ab eo fl. nasc.*). **inf. collis**, forming but a single idea, can be further qualified by *apertus*; i. 18. 10 *n.*

3. **videbantur**, 'were seen,' pass. as 19. 6, 28. 3.

19.—2. **consuetudine sua** (abl. of the reason for which a thing is done), *i.e.*, when the enemy was near; at other times the marching order described in 17. 2 was usual; Intr. § 14. 2. **Caesar**, i. 24. 1 *n.*

3. **duae leg.**, viz., 13th and 14th.

5. **silvae**, pl. as giving the different parts of the forest to which they retreated (=*partes silvae* of iii. 28. 3), but *silva*, 'the wood as a whole'; for the repetition of the word cp. i. 48. 1 *n*. **porrecta**, 'in extent,' connected with *pertinebant*. **opere dimenso**, deponent used passively, i. 16. 5; to mark out the works, *i.e.*, entrenchment, rampart, and moat which surrounded the camp; cp. *castra metari:* this was done by the *exploratores* and centurions of 17. 1.

6. 'When the head of our baggage-train was sighted by those who were lying in ambush in the woods (that being the moment agreed upon by them for beginning the action, i. 36. 5 *n*.), in the manner in which they had formed their lines for action within the woods, and had encouraged each other,' etc. **ut**=*ita ut*. **sese conf.**, viz., *subito omn. copiis provolare*, vi. 38. 5; vii. 77. 11. **omn. copiis**, i. 8. 1 *n*.

7. **in manibus**, 'at close quarters with us.'

8. **adverso colle**, 'up the hill'; like *adverso flumine*, 'against the stream'; Sall. *Jug.* 52. 3, *adverso colle evadunt;* Liv. ii. 51. 7, *adverso Janiculo...aciem erexit;* xxi. 31. 2, *profectus adversa ripa*.

20.—1. **erant agenda**, viz., at one and the same time, as § 2 shows. **vexillum**, Intr. § 27. 4. **insigne**, contrast the use, i. 22. 2. **signum tuba dandum**, for the soldiers who were ready to fall into their ranks. **aggeris**, 'to look for *materials* for the rampart'; Intr. § 29. 6. **signum dandum**, *i.e.*, to engage; cp. 21. 3.

2. **successus**, 'close approach.'

3. **his diff.**, dat. of disadvantage, 'against these difficulties'; *Bell. Civ.* iii. 70. 1, *his tantis malis haec subsidia occurrebant;* Cic. *p. Sull.* 16. 45, *quae subsidio oblivioni esse possent.* **subsidio**, predicative dat. **scientia atq. usus**, 'technical skill and practical experience,' iii. 8. 1; iv. 1. 6.

21.—1. **necessariis**, 'immediate,' 'what was quite necessary,' time forbidding more to be done. **quam in partem**=*in eam partem quam*. Nepos, *Pelop.* 2, *ut quem locum fors obtulisset, eo patriam recuperare niterentur.* **ad leg. dec.**, upon the left wing.

2. **neu perturbarentur** goes closely with and in opposition to *uti retinerent hostiumque....sustinerent* and depends on the same as a second clause; so that this passage is not one of those in which an *ut* is to be supplied from a preceding *ne* as

Bell. C. i. 19. 1, *ne animo deficiant quaeque usui sint parent.* Cp. v. 34. 3; *Bell. C.* iii. 92. 1, *praedixerant ut impetum exciperent neve se loco moverent, aciemque eius distrahi paterentur.* Madvig, § 459.

3. **adigi**, 'driven home,' 'thrown with effect,' for which it is the regular word [see Crit. App.]; cp. iii. 14. 4; iv. 23. 3; *B. C.* iii. 51. 8, 56. 1, etc.

4. **in a. partem**, *i.e.*, on the right wing, where the 7th and 12th legions were already engaged.

5. **insignia**, ornaments on the helmets (cp. i. 22. 2) which were taken off on the march, and put on again for battle. [Centurions and higher officers had three feathers or a crest of horse-hair.] The *galeae* were worn by soldiers on the march upon the breast, or hanging down the back. Those working at the entrenchments would lay them aside. **tegimenta**, leathern cases for the shields. Cic. *N. D.* ii. 14 speaks of *clipeorum involucra* to preserve the ornaments on them. **detrudenda**, 'to be torn off,' a strong word, to express haste (*maiore cum vi et contentius deicere*, Schn.). **defuerit**, for the more usual *deesset*, see 4. 2; iii. 15. 5; v. 10. 1. Roby, § 1516.

22.—1. **deiectus** particularizes the general **natura**, i. 31. 12 *n*; iii. 17. 4. **necessitas temp.** = i. 16. 6, *necessarium tempus*. **diversae leg.**, 'separated,' *i.e.*, without presenting a united front; it is further explained by *aliae alia in parte;* for the apposition, cp. Liv. v. 8. 9, *ut diversae legiones, aliae adversus Capenatem...aliae contra eruptionem oppidanorum pugnarent;* ix. 2. 2, *pecoraque diversos àlium alibi pascere iubet:* so x. 27. 8, 41. 11 [or, *diversae* may = 'turned different ways']. **demonstravimus**, 17. 4. **certa subs. collocari.** The difficulty of observing the movements of the enemy through the thick screen of fences prevented their placing their reserve on any defined plan (*certa*=*certis locis*). **in tanta**, i. 27. 4 *n*.

23.—1. **leg. non. et dec.**: Labienus was in command of these. **acie**, an old gen. (cp. *die*, *facie*, *specie*), and the usual one according to Aul. Gell. ix. 14. **lassitudine**, due to the *cursu*, 'with the running and consequent weariness.' **his** = the Atrebates. **ea pars**, the left wing of Romans. **conantes... eorum**, i. 12. 3. **impeditam**, sc. *fluminis transitu*.

3. **diversae**, 22. 1 *n*. **congressi**, construction κατὰ σύνεσιν, 11. 4 *n*. **ex loco sup.**, with *profligatis*. **in ripis**, i. 37. 3.

4. **nudatis castris.** See the plan.

5. **summum...locum,** 'the height on which the encampment stood,' not 'the highest point of the encampment.'

24.—1. **fuerant,** before the flight. **dixeram,** 19. 7: for plpf. see 1. 1 *n.* **adversis...occ.** Entering the camp from the rear or from one of the sides they came face to face with the enemy, who had effected an entrance.

2. **decumana.** Intr. § 29. 3; it stood on the side of the camp away from the enemy. In this instance, as we see from the words *summo iugo collis*, it was the highest point of the camp.

3. The many impfs. in this chapter describe the accessories during the action. In the following C. reverts to the main battle, and therefore uses the pf.

4. **virtutis opinio,** 8. 1 *n.* Their valour shows how great the danger was. **quorum...qui,** i. 1. 4.

25.—1. **ab cohort.** = *ab dec. legione quam cohortatus erat*, so that *ab* is not temporal = 'immediately after.' C. resumes his account of the fight. **signis...collatis,** 'as the cohorts had got massed,' as often happened when there was a superior force of the enemy (*Bell. C.* i. 71. 3, *quod collatis in unum locum signis neque ordines neque signa servarent*); cp. the *orbis*, iv. 37. 2; v. 33. 3 (Intr. § 15). **duod. leg.,** 23. 4. **ad pugnam**: *ad* points the relation of the hindrance to the object in view; i. 25. 3; vii. 26. 2; *Bell. C.* i. 62. 2, *ad transeundum imp.*; **signifero...amisso** refer to the loss only of the *signum* of the cohort, Intr. § 27. 2; 27. 8. **occisis...interfecto** repeated, as the substs. are of different number, else *interfectis* alone would have served. **primipilus,** Intr. § 20; on Baculus see iii. 5. **nonnullos...excedere,** 'while some towards the rear had quitted their lines and were leaving the field.' **ab,** not = *de*, *ex*, i. 1. 5 *n.*; cp. Liv. xlii. 60. 1, *cecidere ab Romanis ducenti equites.* **deserto loco** [Crit. App.], Sall. *Jug.* 38. 3, *alii signo dato locum uti desererent.* **neque...et**: this is frequent in C. (vii. 20. 4 *n.*), the clause *neque ullum esse subsidium* answers only to the *rem esse in angusto.*

2. **signa inferre,** 'advance,' 'engage.' **manip. laxare,** 'to open out their companies.' On construction see 5. 6. Observe in this chapter the extraordinary length of the sentence, contrary to Caesar's usage.

3. **operam navare,** 'to do his very best.' *gnavus* is the opposite of *i-gnavus*, [connected with γι-γνώ-σκω]. **in extr. suis rebus,** 'in extreme personal danger.'

26.—1. **iuxta**, near the 12th legion, 23. 4. **conversa signa**: C. put the legions back to back, so that he could not be taken in rear (see § 2); *convertere s.* is of course strictly applicable to only *one* of the legions; i. 25. 7.

2. **timerent**, the soldiers as a whole, not for the singular with *alius alium*, vii. 71. 2 *n*.

3. **mil....duarum**, 19. 3. **proelio...incitato**, 11. 5 *n*.

5. **versaretur**: when several substs. of different numbers come together, the verb is used in the sing., if the most important subject is in the sing. and stands next to it. **nihil... reliqui**, lit. 'they left themselves nothing over in regard to speed,' *i.e.*, they used all the speed they could; Liv. vii. 35, *cum...nihil vobis fortuna reliqui fecerit*.

27.—1. **nostri...procubuissent**, i. 52. 5 *n*. Indef. conjunctive, 'such as' rather than 'those who'; cp. Liv. xxv. 14. 9, *multi vulnerati etiam quos vires, sanguis desereret ...nitebantur*. **inermes**, i. 40. 6 *n*.

2. **omnibus...praeferrent.** The ground was unfavourable, for cavalry movements, and so these words emphasize the valour of the cavalry; the words *quo...praeferrent* are therefore no mere idle repetition of *ut...delerent* [see Crit. App.].

3. **in extr. spe**, 'in their utter despair'; cp. 25. 3; Liv. vi. 3. 9, *in spe ultima;* viii. 17. 2, *ipsi pro extrema spe dimicaturi enixe videbantur*.

4. 'When these had been thrown down and their bodies added to the heap, such as survived flung their missiles upon our troops as from a mound.'

5. **ut...deberet** gives the *result* of the whole of the foregoing. **non nequiquam**, 'not without adequate motive,' and in view of the success of their enterprise. Observe that C. frankly praises his enemy; but, of course, his own exploits are thereby enhanced. **redegerat**=*reddiderat*, with the further idea of reducing to a lower standard; which idea comes out more plainly, iv. 3. 4. C. uses it with *ad*, 28. 1; *in*, i. 45. 2; ii. 14. 5, 34. 5; vii. 13. 3, 77. 16; *sub*, v. 29. 4.

28.—1. **internecio**, i. 13. 7. **redacto**, 'an adj. intended as an attribute to more than one subst. is, unless for emphasis, expressed only once, and is put in the case and number of the subst. nearest to itself,' Roby, § 1062. **dixeramus**, 16. 4; for plpf. 1. 1 *n*. **aestuaria** (which are not mentioned above), 'inlets' in which the tide (*aestus*) rose and fell: the word seems hardly

applicable to a river like the Sabis. **nihil imp.**, 'that there was no obstacle.'

2. **senatores**, 5. 1 *n.* **ad quingentos**, an exaggeration (cp. i. 31. 6), as three years later they could raise a large force (v. 28, 29), and in B.C. 52 put 5,000 men in the field. Plutarch, *Caes.* 20, πεντακόσιοι ἀπὸ μυριάδων ἓξ σωθῆναι λέγονται, βουλευταὶ δὲ τρεῖς ἀπὸ τετρακοσίων. **vix** is so placed not so much for emphasis (i. 6. 1 *n*) as in obedience to the rule, that between a prep. and its case only a gen. or adv. qualifying a participle or gerund (e.g. *ad bene vivendum*) can come. **ex**, cp. 27. 5, *ex difficillimis.* Notice that the Nervii had promised to supply only 50,000 men; cp. 4. 8. **qui...possent**, 'fighting men,' i. 29. 1.

3. **videretur**, passive, and like φαίνομαι joined with participle, 'that it might be plainly seen.' **se...prohiberent**, 'restrain themselves,' could not stand in this sense, did not *suosque* follow; vi. 10. 5 *n.* **iniuria, maleficio**, i. 7. 5.

29.—1. **supra**, 16. 3. **venirent**=*in itinere essent.* **ex itin.**, i. 25. 6 *n.* **reverterunt**, i. 8. 3 *n.*

2. **in...oppidum**, see Geogr. Index.

3. **cum**, 'although.' **in circuitu**=*circa*, the phrase occurs, i. 21. 1; ii. 30. 2; v. 13. 7, 42. 5. **despectus**, 'views,' plur. because on every side: the place stood on rocks which ran sheer down, so nothing hindered the view. **amplius**, i. 15. 5 *n.* **pedum** depends on *aditus.* **duplici...muro**=*duobus altissimis muris.* Numerals, pronouns, and adjs. of place and time can without a copula go with a subst. already qualified by an adj., i. 18. 10, 38. 7. **praeacutus**, 'sharpened to a point,' cp. *praeustus,* v. 40. 6. **collocabant**, change of tense.

4. **ex Cimbris**: C. mentions the fact to remind his Roman readers (with whom 'Cimbri' was even still a name of terror) with what formidable foes he had to deal. **prognati**, a poet. word, vi. 18. 1; in older prose found in a letter of Caelius ap. Cic. *ad Fam.* viii. 15. 2. **custodiam**, men to look after the baggage. **praesidium**, 'a guard,' 'protection.'

5. **obitum** (usually of individuals) here=*interitum*, Plin. v. 31. 39 uses it of the destruction of a city, *Agamede obiit et Hiero.* **exagitati**, 'harassed.' **alias**, always of *time* in good Latin. **illatum**, v. 12. 2. **defend.**, i. 44. 6 *n.* **eorum omn.**, viz., those with whom they had carried on the war. **hunc locum**, the whole district between the Maas and Scheldt.

30.—1. **primo adv.**, 'immediately on the arrival,' i. 50. 3 *n.*

2. **castella**, i. 8. 2.

3. **vin. actis**, i. 24. 3 ; ii. 12. 3. **turrim** is a commoner form than *turrem*, *turri* than *turre*. **primum**, answered by *vero*, 31. 1. **irridere, increpitare**, hist. inf., i. 16. 1, 32. 3 ; iii. 4. 1 ; v. 6. 4, 33. 1. **vocibus**=*dictis*, opposed to *irridere*. **tanta mach.**, it consisted of several storeys (*tabulata*), vi. 29. 3 ; Intr. § 30. **ab**, 7. 3 *n*. **instrueretur**, subj. as being in the Gaul's thought.

4. **nam**: an enclitic placed (especially after interrog.) pronouns and adverbs to emphasize them. **nostra**=*nostrorum*. **contemptui**, 'object of derision,' predicative dat. Roby, § 1158-1162.

31.—1. **moveri**, what is the subject? **specie**, 'phenomenon.'

2. **non...possent** depends on *locuti*. **se...permittere** on *dixerunt*. **non** to be taken with *sine*, from which it is separated for emphasis. Before *existimare*, *permittere* supply *se* ; i. 7. 3 ; ii. 3. 2 *n*.

4. **petere** is more exactly defined by *deprecari*='ward off by entreaty.' **pro**, 'according to.' **sua**, emphatic, 'his well known'; cp. 14. 5. **audirent**=*audimus* of *or. recta*, and so is more expressive than *audissent* would have been.

6. **in...casum**, *i.e.*, of having only this alternative. **quam** follows *praestare* owing to its comparative force. **per...interfici**, 'to be tortured to death': *per* is often used to make up adverbial phrases; *per insidias* (treacherously), i. 42. 4; *per vim*, i. 14. 3 ; *per dolum*, iv. 13. 1.

32.—1. **consuet. sua**, i. 47. 4 *n*. **merito**, they had been on their way to help the Nervii. **prius...attigisset**: as soon as the regular storming began, submission was too late. Milder rules sometimes prevailed ; *e.g.*, Cic. *de Off.*, i. 11. 35, *tum ii, qui armis positis ad imperatorum fidem confugient, quamvis murum aries percusserit, recipiendi.*

2. **in**, 'in the case of,' i. 47. 4 ; vii. 21. 1. Sall. *Cat.* 11. 4, *foeda in civibus facinora facere.*

3. **facere**, 'that they were ready to carry out,' stronger than *facturos esse*. **dixerunt**, *i.e.*, the envoys : so the subject can be *eos* (*suos*) or *se*.

4. **muri**, 29. 3. **aggeris**, the mound which C. had made over against the walls.

33.—1. **sub vesperum**, 'at nightfall'; *sub* applied to time may mean 'just before,' or 'just after': *sub eas litteras reci-*

tatae sunt tuae (Roby, § 2129, who only gives the latter sense). **milites...mil.**, i. 48. 1 *n.*

2. **praesidia...servaturos**, 'would either withdraw their guard from the redoubts, or certainly at any rate (*denique*) maintain it less carefully.' Liv. 9. 6, *vigilias servare;* xxxiii. 4. 2, *custodias servare.* **viminibus**, governed by *ex;* or, abl. absolute; or, 'with woven osiers'; or, abl. of quality with *scutis* = 'of woven osiers'; iii. 13. 4, *transtris pedalibus in altitudinem trabibus.* **repentino**, only here used by C., only once by Cic., *p. Quint.* 4. 14.

4. **qui iacerent**, subj. because the statement is general, 'such that' being implied in the *qui.*

5. **ad** = *circiter*, adv., i. 4. 2 *n.*

6. **sectio**, lit. 'a cutting up.' The whole booty (or the confiscated property of a proscribed citizen) which was sold as a whole; the buyers were called *sectores* because they *secabant* or parcelled out the property into smaller lots, then they resold it. [According to Mommsen. in Halm's Cic. *p. Rosc. Amer.*, Intr. *n.* 26, *sectio* refers to the depreciation in value of the property then sold.]

7. **relatus**, 'returned,' 'given in.' The whole tribe (see 29. 1) can hardly have suffered thus, for, v. 38. 39, they again appear, in league with the Nervii.

34. **legione**, the 7th, iii. 7. 2. **civitas**, in C. usually = 'the tribe, as a collection of individual citizens, rather than the 'state.' These are the coast tribes classed together in v. 53. 6, vii. 75. 4, under the name *Aremoricae civitates.* See Geogr. Index. **in dicionem.** This is exaggerated (i. 31. 7, *dicione atque imperio*): they had only given hostages, whom they soon demanded back, iii. 8. 5. The same applies to 35. 1, *omni G. pacata.*

35.—1. **his...pacata**, on the abls. 11. 5 *n.* **opinio**, 'fame,' 8. 1 *n.* **quae...incolerent**, 27. 1 *n.* = 'even such as dwelt, from whom this could least be expected. **daturas**, not *-os*, as they promised it in the name of their tribes. **imperata fac.** 3. 3 *n.*

2. **Illyricum**, which formed part of C.'s province. **inita aest.**, 2. 1 *n.*

3. **Turonos**, see Crit. App. **ubi b. gesserat**: Napoleon thinks that the name of Crassus has here dropped out. **hibernacula**, only here in C., Sall. *Jug.* 103. 1, *exercitu in*

hibernaculis composito; strictly, the winter-tents or camp (Liv. v. 2. 1, *hibernacula aedificari coepta*): *hiberna*, the winter-quarters generally, the place where the troops wintered.

4. **supplicatio**, a season of public prayer decreed by the Senate, either as a thanksgiving or to avert misfortune. The longest *supplicatio* hitherto had been twelve days (in honour of Pompey's victory over Mithradates). In iv. 38. 5; vii. 90. 8. it lasts twenty days. **quod...nulli**: Cic. *de Prov. Cons.* 10. 25, *Caesari supplicationes decrevistis, numero ut nemini uno ex bello, honore ut omnino nemini.*

BOOK III.

THIRD YEAR OF THE WAR, B.C. 56.

[The incidents however of cc. 1-6 fall in B.C. 57.]

1.—1. **pertinent**, 'extend.'

2. **per Alpes**, over the Great St. Bernard into the Valais and on to the lake of Geneva. **causa mittendi**, with obj. omitted; cp. Ter. *Phorm.* 50, *puer causa erit mittendi.* **mercatores**, i. 1, 39; ii. 15; iv. 2, 3, 5, 20, 21; vi. 37.

4. A series of ablatives *consequentiae* is occasionally employed to express circumstances which follow in succession. This depends on the greater or less care which the writer has bestowed on variety and preciseness of expression. Madv. § 430. **castellis**, 'fortified villages.' **eorum**, those whom I have mentioned. **vico, vicus, vici**, i. 49. 1 *n.* **continetur**, 'is shut in.' 'This hamlet lies in a valley with a plain of no great extent adjoining, and is shut in on every side by very high mountains.'

2.—1. **eo** = *in eum vicum.* **concesserat**, for mood, ii. 4. 10 *n.*

2. **ut...caperent**, defines *id*, i. 5. 1 *n.*

3. **neque eam**, like *et is*, *atque is*, *et is quidem.* **plenissimam**, 'at quite its full strength.' **compluribus singillatim** (*detractis*), 'many individuals,' not whole detachments. The adv. (when adj. could have stood), as *privatim*, i. 17. 1.

5. 'To this was added their resentment at their children being torn from them as hostages.' Caesar here as often (v. 54. 5; vii. 77. 15; Intr. p. xxix.) frankly gives the true

cause of the outbreak. **sibi**: the only place in good classical prose in which *sibi* is thus used with *persuadere*. Cp. *Bell. Hisp.* 22. 8, *neque sibi ullam spem victoriae propositam habere.*

3.—1. To the general **opus hibernorum**, 'lines of winter camp,' is added as a special point, the erection of its fortification; cp. 6. 3, i. 31. 12 *n.*, also 12, *lingulis promuntoriis*, etc. **de**, 'for,' i. 42. 12 *n.* **frumento...commeatu**, i. 39. 1 *n.* **consilio**, 'council of war.' **neque subsidio...possent**, 'nor could a reinforcement come up or supplies be brought by reason of the roads being closed.'

3. Caesar says *desperare de re*, *e.g.*, i. 18. 9, 40. 4; twice dat. 12. 3, *d. sibi*, vii. 50. 4 *n.*; and not *d. rem.* except in this abl. abs. construction which he freely uses, *e.g.*, *d. salute*, v. 37, vi. 5, etc.; *d. re*, *fuga*, *victoria* and the like. **imp. r. e. f.**, i. 24. 5 *n.* **ad salutem**, 'to (place of) safety.'

4. **experiri**, 'wait *and see*,' but at 5. 2, 'essay,' 'try.'

4.—1. **vix ut**, i. 6. 1 *n.* **collocare**, 'arrange,' lit., 'put in their places'; *Bell. Alex.* 33. 6, *rebus omnibus...collocatis;* Cic. *epist. ad Brut.* i. 15 *n.*, *ad collocandum civitatis statum.* **administrare**, 'carry out,' 9. 2; v. 50. 5.

2. **gaesa**, Verg. *Aen.* viii. 661, *Alpina coruscant gaesa manu*, javelins with thick shaft and barbed iron head of extraordinary length. **loco sup.**, 'their vantage ground,' viz., the rampart, 1. 6; the enemy had retired into the plain. **ut quaeque pars...videbatur**, 'so often as any part of the camp was bared of its defenders and was seen to be hard pressed.' Repeated action usually in Caesar, Cicero, and Sallust expressed by indicative impf. or plpf. (*e.g.* 14. 6, iv. 26. 1), in other writers by conjunctive. Madv. § 359. **superari**, 'they were outdone,' 'overmatched.'

3. **qu. rerum nihil**, 1. 32. 2, v. 1. 7, to be explained by the frequent use in Latin of *res* as equivalent to neuter pronoun. Cp. vi. 42. 3.

4. **non modo** = *n. modo non*, influenced by the negative *ne... quidem*. When both clauses have a common verb which stands in second clause (as here *dabatur*) *non modo* can elliptically stand in the former = *non modo non*, viii. 33. 1 (*oppidani*) *effugere non modo equitatem, sed ne legiones quidem possent.* **recipere**, cp. 6. 1; ii. 12. 1 *n.*

5.—1. **vallum scindere**, to tear down the palisades (*valli*) and so effect an entrance; v. 51. 4, vii. 86. 5.

2. **diximus**, ii. 25. 1.

3. **certiores facit**, 'he lets them know that they are to,' construed like *mandare, hortari;* v. 36. 3, *communicat, ut excedant. Bell. Civ.* i. 64. 3, *ut certior fieret, ne labori suo parceret.* So *legatos mittere ut* and the like.

6.—1. With **sui** the gerundive always stands in singular (we never say *sui colligendorum*). This because *sui*, even where it represents the plural of personal pronouns, is still in *form* the genitive singular of the possessive pronoun; Madv. § 297. 6.

2. **potiundorum castrorum**, ii. 7. 2.

3. **armis** is not in agreement with (=*arma exuere*), but governed by *exutis*, 'having been stripped of their arms'; with *copiae exutae armis*, cp. vii. 14. 8, *ipsos impedimentis exuant;* cp. i. 10. 5 *n. Hostem armis exuere*= 'to compel the enemy to throw away their arms and take refuge in flight'; cp. iv. 37. 4, v. 51. 5.

4. **alio consilo...aliis rebus**, 'that he had gone into winter quarters with one design, but had encountered other issues.' Cic. *Lael.* 24. 89, *aliter cum tyranno, aliter cum amico vivitur.* For the object of his mission cp. c. 1. If he had been meant to quell risings of the Alpine tribes, he would certainly have taken more troops. **occurrere**, 'come across,' 'experience,' iv. 6. 1.

7.—1. **o. de causis**, join with *existimant*. **pacatam**, i. 6. 2 *n.* From 8. 4, we see how the Gauls took it. **expulsis Germanis**, usually referred to the Aduatuci, who are supposed to be called 'German' from their descent from Cimbri and Teutons. But (1) the indefinite '*Germans*' for Aduatuci would be as hard to comprehend as (2) the opposition of *Belgae* to *Aduatuci* (these being also Germans, ii. 4. 10), and especially (3) *expulsi* used of the Aduatuci who were sold into slavery, ii. 33. 6. This very expression shows that Ariovistus' hordes are meant. The order is that of thought, not of chronology. Among the grounds (*omn. de c.*) why Caesar thought he was safe of Gaul is that he had overcome the last tribe of *Gaul itself* which remained independent (*superatis Belgis*); then it occurs to him to add that the frontier had been made safe from inroads of neighbours (*exp. G.*), whilst the connection with Italy was protected by the conquest of the Alpine tribes (*victis S.*). **Sedunis**, alone mentioned of Alpine tribes as being the most important and representative,

2. **Crassum**, i. 52. 7 *n.*; **mare oceanum**, i. 30. 2 *n.*

8.—1. **omnis o. m.**=*omnis orae maritimae civitatum;* cp. i. 3. 7, *totius Galliae plurimum.* The gen. *reg. earum* is added to qualify *omnis o. m.*, and so limit the statement. **atque,** 'and especially.' **aperto,** 'open,' 9. 7: the coasts had few inlets to afford protection against the violence of the sea. **interiecti** between the projecting stones. **vectigales:** the mariners would be compelled to run into their harbours and pay tolls. Tr., 'and on a vast, exposed, and tempestuous sea, where there are only occasional harbours, which they keep in their own hands, they have made tributary nearly all those who frequent it.'

2. **ab his...Velanii,** short for 'they detain S. and V., and thereby set on foot the detention of the other ambassadors.'

3. **subita,** 'quickly carried out,' 'sudden.' **repentina,** 'unforeseen,' 'surprising.' Cic. *de Rep.* ii. 3. 6, *non modo exspectatos, sed etiam repentinos adventus.*

4. **quam...acceperant.** To explain this clause as an insertion by Caesar himself would spoil the sense; it belongs to the clause dependent on *sollicitant.* The subj. would therefore be more natural, but the ind. is found v. **11.** 4; vii. 78, 1. **mallent,** i. 3. 5 *n.* **mittunt, remittat,** 5. 3.

9.—1. **naves longae,** 'ships of war,' longer than merchantmen (*onerariae,* which were broader to hold a cargo), in order to hold a longer line of rowers. **instituere,** 'raise' (not 'train'). **comparare,** 'bring together.'

3. **legatos...retentos...coniectis,** added to explain *quantum f. in se adm.* ('had allowed themselves to commit'). **ad** (*omnes n.*)='in the sight of,' in connection with expressions which give the regard, importance or influence which a man or thing enjoys with anyone, or the opposite, iv. 6, 7; *Bell. Civ.* iii. 60. 2, *magnam contemptionem ad omnes;* Liv. iii. 21. 4, *si vana vestra auctoritas ad plebem est;* xxiv. 32. 2, *ad militare genus ... invisum esse nomen Romanum.* Military officers sent into conquered districts with demands for corn are loosely called *legati* in order to paint their arrest as a still more heinous offence against international law, and one which justified the following attack; cp. iv. 27. 3. **navium,** subjective gen.; cp. v. 1. 4, *ea quae sunt usui ad armandas naves;* Liv. xxvi. 43. 7, *quae belli usūs poscunt.* But 14. 7, *navium* is object of *usus,*='use.' **multum**=*valde,* a rare usage, as *multum* (*tantum*) usually stand with verbs expressing *amount* (as *m. abesse proficere*) rather than degree. But cp. 25. 1; vii. 55. 10; *Bell. Civ.* i. 44. 3, *multum moveri;*

ii. 38. 2, *m. adiuvare.* Passages (as iv. 3. 3) when it=*saepe* are not to the point.

4. **aestuaria**, ii. 28. 1.

6. **iam ut**, 'granted that,' Liv. xxi. 47. 5, *ut iam Hispanos omnes inflati travexerint utres;* xxxiv. 32. 13, *ut iam ita sint haec.* **facultatem**, i. 38. 3.

7. **concl.** *mare*, 'confined,' as the Mediterranean which is here alluded to. **atque...** awkwardly following another *atque*, as vii. 12. 5.

10. **his i. consiliis** refers back to § 3, the immediately preceding part giving reasons for the practical nature of the plans. **constabat**, 'it was the general idea,' as at iv. 29. 4.

10.—1. **tamen**=*nihilominus*, and put late for emphasis.

2. **iniuriae retentorum equ. R.**, 'the wrong done by the detention of the Roman knights,' not the wrong *to* those knights. The pf. part. with a subst. often represents an abstract idea, Madv. § 426, Roby, 1406 f.; and the gen. of definition is added to show that in which the *iniuriae* consisted. Madv. § 286. *n.* 2; Liv. iv. 32. 5, *scelus legatorum contra ius gentium interfectorum*='the crime consists in the murder of,' etc.; *id.* xxi. 46. 10, *Servati consulis decus Caelius ad servum delegat*, Roby, § 1302. The pl. **iniuriae** of the same action, because repeated in each state, 8. 2 and 3. **equitum R.** The tribunes had the rank of knights (Intr. § 19), which Caesar brings out in order to show the heinous nature of the crime; cp. note on *legatos*, 9. 3.

11.—1. **legionariis**, 'of the line.'

3. **ne...coniungantur**, one of the least convincing of Caesar's attempts to justify his measures as necessary.

4. **eam manum**, which each tribe would raise.

5. **D. Brutum**; Intr. p. xxviii. *n.* **posset**=fut. ind. in *oratio recta*, as plpf. subj.=fut. pf., i. 8. 2, *si transire conarentur*, v. 11. 4, 46. 4. But in exactly similar sentence § 2, *si conentur.*

12. **lingulae**, 'tongues' of land, nearer defined, i. 31. 12, iii. 3. 1, by *promuntoriisque.* **promunturium** (the older form and usual one in mss.), not from *mons* but *prominere*, 'jut out', so=any projecting cape, whether flat or mountainous. **se incitat**, 'comes in' (=*accessus aestus*). **minuere**, 'go out,' 'ebb,'=*decessus aestus*, 13. 1. **cum**, vii. 16. 3 *n.* **quod**

bis...spatio, Plin. *N. H.* ii. 97. 99, *bis adfluunt* (*aestus maris*) *bisque remeant vicenis quaternisque semper horis.* See Crit. App. **quod afflictarentur**, 'would be damaged,' hence the mood. **afflictari**, often used of ships which, by storms or other circumstances, are brought into danger, iv. 29. 2; for the kind of danger, 13. 9.

3. **operis**=*munitionum*, nearer defined by the following words. **extruso mari**, as he kept out the sea by massive structures of stone and woodwork, so that it could not come in even at high tide. **moenibus**, dative or abl., 'when the town-walls had been reached' (cp. ii. 32. 4). **suis f. desperare**, vii. 50. 4 *n.* **cuius rei facultas**, i. 38. 3 *n.*

5. **vasto...portibus**, ablatives absolute.

13.—1. **ipsorum**= *Venetorum.* **namque...erant**, giving the reason why the Gauls, at a time when the Roman ships were imperilled, could easily use their ships on that coast. **armatae**, 'equipped,' 'rigged,' 14. 2 *n.* **aliquanto**, 'considerably.' **excipere**, 'take up,' 'meet,' iv. 17. 9. The word belongs to *decessus aestus* rather than to *vada*, to which another corresponding idea is to be supplied. For a like kind of vessel cp. Tac. *Ann.* ii. 6, *quaedam* (*naves*) *planae carinis, ut sine noxa siderent:* (='in order to run aground').

4. **contumeliam**, of lifeless opposing forces; 'violence' [not 'damage,' for they *totae ex robore factae sunt*] : *iniuriae* is also used in this sense. **transtra**, 'cross timbers' which support the deck, not as usual 'thwarts,' as from 14. 7, 15. 3, we see that there were no oars. **altitudo**, 'thickness'; 'a foot thick' means *strong.* **ped. trabibus**, abl. qual. with *transtra.* **clavis ferreis**, abl. instr. with *confixa.* **dig. pollicis**, *pollex* alone= 'big toe.'

5. **pro funibus**, 'instead of *with* cables.' **velis**, 'ordinary sails.'

6. **pelles**, 'raw hides.' **alutae t. c.**, leather worked thin and dressed with alum, *i.e.*, tanned. **hae**, 'and these indeed' =*et hae quidem*, introducing the more accurate account of this custom. **eius usus** may be construed (1) *eius* (lini) *usus*, making one genitive depend on another, or (2) *is usus* may be =*eius rei usus* (their ignorance of the use of it, *i.e.*, for linen sails), i. 18. 10 *n.*, 27. 1 *n.*, v. 19. 2 *n.*

8. **adigebatur**, 14. 4, ii. 21 *n.* **copulae**, general expression including the several engines used to board ships, viz., *harpagones*, *manus ferreae* [Crit. App.].

9. Two cases are opposed to each other, *cum s. v. coepisset* and *ab aestu relictae.* Accordingly the *et* before *ab aestu* is not correlative to *et t. ferrent* and *et in v. consisterent,* but joins on the second chief part of the sentence dependent on *ut.* **ferrent facilius**, for the reasons given in § 2 and 3. **se v. dedissent**, 'had run before the wind,' not presented their broadsides to a heavy gale, in which case they would hardly have been safe against the shifting of the same. **c. tutius**, on account of the flat bottom. **n. timerent**, on account of the strength of the timber. **casus extimescendus**: the singular gives (in more abstract shape) the occurrence of each of these casualties (cp. viii. 34. 1, *similem casum obsessionis vererentur);* the plural would point out as formidable the separate cases which occur.

14.—1. **neque**, both copulative and correlative; '*and neither ...nor,*' i. 36. 5 *n.*

2. **o. g. armorum** = complete equipment of the ships in rigging and tackling, = *armamenta*, § 7. **ex portu**: the engagement was in the Bay of Quiberon.

4. **cognoverant**, hence we infer that the attempt had been made; so 13. 8, *neque his...poterant.* **turribus**, towers on the ships raised (*excitare*, cp. v. 40. 2) so as to command the ships of the enemy, but which not being high enough were useless. **turribus excitatis...has** (not *turres excitatas superabat*), iv. 21. 6 *n.* **ex b. navibus** (for which we should have expected the gen.), could be said only because of *altitudo...superabat;* on the side of the enemy the high *puppes* opposed and overtopped the *turres* on the Roman ships. This mode of expression was preferred to the gen., which would be awkward with *puppium.* Do not join *puppes ex navibus* (iv. 33. 1 *n.*).

5. **ins. affixaeque**, 'driven into and fixed in long poles.' **non absimili f. muralium falcium** (Intr. § 31. 3) = *formā non absimili formae m. f.* A condensed mode of expression common in every language; Ovid., *Ora fuere mihi plus a v e docta loqui.* Shakesp. *Tempest*, 'No, not so much destruction *as a hair.*' **absimilis**, here only in Caesar, elsewhere only in later writers, and combined with negative, i. 42. 6 *n.*

6. **cum comprehensi erant.** The following imperfect *praerumpebantur* shows that this action too is *repeated*, *cum* = 'as often as,' so 15. 1, iv. 17. 4, v. 35. 1, etc. As to the imperfect, cp. 4. 2.

7. **velis armamentisque**, i. 39. 1 *n.*, iv. 14. 4. For the *armamenta* comprise the sails, and also the sail-yards, anchor

and rigging; iv. 29. 3, *funibus ancoris, reliquisque armamentis amissis.* **usus navium**, 9. 3 *n.*

15.—1. **b. ac t.** 'Two and in other cases three,' in meaning = 'two or three'; v. 14. 4 *n.*

2. **ei rei**; ii. 20. 3 *n.*

3. **ac**, proceeding to something new and more important, 17. 3, vi. 41. 2. **in eam p. quo**; i. 42. 5 *n.* **quo v. ferebat**, not *naves* but absolute, 'in which the wind drove' (it being taken for granted that a wind driving in a direction, drove everything in that direction). **mal. ac tranq.** The rare and special expression for 'a calm' is completed by the more usual and general one, 1. 31. 12 *n.* *μαλακία* is not used in this sense in Greek. **se commovere non possent**, because they had no oars, 13. 4 *n.* **hora quarta**, 10 a.m., i. 26. 2 *n.*

16.—2. **navium quod f.**, iv. 22, 3; *quod militum*, v. 2. 3, vii. 55. 8; Roby, 1296 *b.*

4. **quo**, final, as the mood of *conservaretur* shows. **legatorum**, 9. 3 *n.* **senatu**, ii. 5. 1, **sub coronā vendere** = to sell captives as slaves, on which occasion a wreath was put on their head.

17.—1. **Sabinus**, 11. 4.

2. **exercitum...copias**, a regular trained army, and (other) large forces which he intended to use in case of need. **copiae** cannot here = 'provisions,' (1) because of 18. 6, (2) because Caesar uses *cogere copias* only of troops.

3. **atque h. p. d.** After the lately announced arrival of Sabinus. **his**, curious, as not referring to what is present to the speaker. **atque**, 15. 3 *n.* **clauserunt...coniunxerunt.** After mention made of the troops which had been brought together before the arrival of Sabinus, he narrates, almost parenthetically, what these did, *his diebus* then adds something which had already happened, hence the perfects among the pluperfects. **auctores b. e. n.**, 'because they (the *senatores* to be got from *senatu*) refused to ratify the decision of the people.' [With the Romans *patres auctores fiunt* is a stereotyped phrase, *e.g.*, Liv. i. 17. 9.]

4. **revocabat**, 'withdrew,' not merely then but always, for as *latrones* they did no agriculture.

5. **omnibus rebus**, 'in every respect.' **duum**, '*only* two miles,' i. 9. 1 *n.*

7. The mode of expression is not quite logical, for only in the *absence* of the commander-in-chief could a *legate* have the chance of so doing. The idea is this: it is never allowable even for an independent general, much less for a *legatus*, in absence of his general.

18.—2. **praemiis pollicitationibusque,** 1. 44. 2. **quid f. velit,** v. 2. 3.

3. **pro,** 'as,' 'as if he were,' i. 22. 4, *pro viso.* **proponit,** 'pictures,' 'describes,' i. 17. 1, 20. 6; v. 52. 5.

4. **n. longius abesse quin,** 'that on the next night at latest Sabinus would secretly,' lit., 'that it was no further distant that he would not lead out his forces the very next night,' *quin,* Roby, § 1698, put on account of the negative in *abesse* = *ut non.*

6. **s. dierum Sabini c.,** 'the hesitation of Sabinus during the last few days,' on double genitive cp. ii. 17. 2 *n.*, *Bell. C.* i. 7. 1, *omnium temporum iniurias inimicorum.* **inopia cibariorum,** ii. 10. 4 *n*, c. 17. 2 *n*. **spes V. belli,** 'which they rested on the V. war.' **fere,** 'as a rule.'

7. **concessum sit,** subj. as implying a *purpose* on the part of the Gauls, *Bell. C.* i. 22. 2, *neque prius milites discedunt quam in conspectum Caesaris deducatur,* Roby, 1672 f.

8. **explorata,** 'assured,' lit., 'ascertained,' v. 43. 3.

19.—1. **passus mille,** to be closely taken with *acclivis,* 'sloping up from the foot for about a mile,' cp. ii. 18. 2, *passus duc. infimus apertus.* **que,** 'and *accordingly.*' **exanimati,** 'out of breath.'

3. **defetigatio** = *defatigatio;* so often *defetigo*, cp. *defetiscor.* **ac statim,** iv. 35. 2.

4. **quos eorum,** i. 12. 3 *n.* **integris viribus,** ablative of cause with *consecuti.* **reliquos,** the infantry which survived. **equites,** nom. **qui...evaserant...reliquerunt,** 'they left but few surviving, who *had already* escaped before the cavalry could reach them,' hence the pluperfect. **ex fuga,** 'from the rout.' **Titurius** = *Sabinus* of this and the preceding sections.

6. **animus...mens,** 'spirit'...'resolution,' the order of these words shows that they are *intentionally* contrasted, i. 39. 1 *n.* The passionate undertaking of a plan (c. 8. 3.), and the spirit shown at the beginning of the same, is the subject of the *animus,* of the feeling and will; the capability of continuing steadfast in misfortune, and of meeting the same by compre-

hensive measures, is the province of the understanding, *mens*. This is *mollis* in so far as after defeat they make unmanly resolves and give themselves up to the enemy. **resistens** ['too effeminate to bear up against'], adj., as Caesar seldom uses present participle. For the fact, Liv. x. 28. 4, *prima eorum* (*i.e.*, Gallorum) *proelia plusquam virorum, postrema minus quam feminarum esse.*

20.—1. **Crassus**, ii. 3, i. 52. 7, Intr. p. xxviii. *n.* **ante**, i. 1. 1. **ex tertia p. G. e. ae.**, 'must be regarded as the third part of Germany'; no parallel to the phrase [Crit. App.]. **cum intellegeret** is answered by **intellegebat**, and on it in its turn depends **cum pervenisset** = *Crassus, cum, postquam in A. pervenit, intellegeret.* Just so with ablative absolute ii. 26. 3. **paucis ante annis**, B. C. 78, in the war against Sertorius (23. 5), Hirtuleius, Sertorius' quaestor, had won this victory. Mallius was proconsul of farther Gaul.

4. **convalle**, v. 32. 2 *n.*

21.—1. **s. victoriis**, apparently those mentioned, 20. 1. **sine reliquis legionibus.** According to 11. 3, he had only twelve cohorts and cavalry. **vertēre** : the form of the perfect in *-re* is very rare in Caesar (twice in *Bell. C.*), and the forms coinciding with the infin. are rare in other writers also. But the historic infin. is here out of the question.

2. **ex itinere**, i. 25. 6. **vineas**, ii. 12. 3. **turres**, ii. 30. 3.

3. **aerariae structurae**, 'mining works.' Caesar probably means by the choice of this expression to intimate that they understood the construction of *cuniculi.* **diligentia**, 29. 2 *n.* **faciunt**, used absolute; after *tradere iussi*, an object such as *iussa* at once suggests itself.

22.—1. **intentus**, usually with genitive, or *ad* (or *in*) with accusative, of that *to which* attention is directed, here of that in which it occupies itself. **devotus**, lit., 'dedicated by a vow' (εὐχωλιμαῖος), even to the death, vii. 40. 7. The same feeling among the Germans Tac. *Germ.* 14, *infame in omnem vitam, superstitem p r i n c i p i s u o ex acie recessisse.* Valerius Max. ii. 6. 11, *Celtiberi nefas esse ducebant proelio superesse, cum is occidisset, pro cuius salute spiritum devovissent.* The name **soldurii** (derivation unknown) is not of Teutonic, but Keltic origin, unless indeed, as confined to a single Aquitanian tribe, it is *Iberian.* Plut. *Sertorius*, 14, calls the custom κατάσπεισις.

4. **cum his** resumes after the long parenthesis; this is called 'Epanalepsis,' cp. *se* i. 35. 4, ii. 25. 1, *vidit.*

23.—2. **p. diebus q.**, 'within a few days from the time of his arrival,' iv. 18. 1, v. 26. 1. **quoqueversum**, 'in every direction,' = *in omnes partes;* [not *quoquo versum*] vii. 4. 5, 14. 5.

3. **citerioris**, *i.e.*, *Tarraconensis*, between Pyrenees and (Ibērus) Ebro. On the borders of Aquitania dwelt the Cantabri, 26. 6.

4. **quorum adventu**, i. 50. 3. As their arrival has the following effect, a causal signification also lies in the ablative. **auctoritate**, 'influence.'

5. **cum Sertorio**, in the war which he carried on, B.C. 80-72, against Rome in Spain. **omnes annos**, viz., of this war, v. 44. 2. **-que**, 19. 1 *n.*

6. **consuetudine p. R.** They had learnt the Roman tactics from Sertorius, which he, himself a Roman, had introduced into Spain. The rawness even of the Gauls in this respect is shown by the previous campaigns. Even the fortifying of a camp was not until later learnt by them, vii. 30. 4. **loca capere** = choose and occupy suitable positions.

7. **suas c....diduci**, a clause explanatory of and in apposition with *quod*, Madv. § 449. **non f. diduci**, '*could* not easily be separated,' i. 6. 2 *n.* The word *facile* helps to bring out this sense. **quin...decertaret**, i. 50. 2 *n.*

8. **deferre ad**, 'bring before.'

24.—1. **duplici acie i.**, Intr. § 13. He arranges his troops in two (not three divisions, as usual, *acies triplex*), because with his scanty numbers (11. 3), only a very small front would have been able to oppose the strong force of the enemy. The auxiliaries, which as a rule were posted on either wing, he stations in the centre, owing to his distrust of them (25. 1). **conicere** = *collocare*, with no further idea either of haste or contempt. **caperent** = *capturi essent*, *exspectare* of necessity points to a future meaning, vi. 39. 2.

2. **obsessis viis**, ii. 11. 5.

3. **impeditos...infirmiore animo** = *cum impediti in agmine et sub sarcinis infirmiore animo* (ablative of quality) *essent. Bell. Afr.* 78. 6, *integros recentioribusque viribus equites.* The want of participles of *esse* causes this brevity. It is self-evident that not only does *sub sarcinis* belong to *inf. animo*

(as *in agmine* to *impeditos*), but that *impeditos...sub sarcinis* contain the reason of *infirmiore animo;* the connection is therefore like § 2, *obsessis viis commeatu intercluso.* **impedimenta, sub sarcinis** (ii. 17. 2), cp. Intr. § 26.

4. **Romanorum**, v. 32. 1 *n*.

5. **opinione timoris**, the impression (which they conveyed to our men), 17. 6, 25. 1. This impression is the result of the *cunctatio.*

25.—1. **ad** *pugnam*, 'for,' *i.e.*, 'for use in,' gives purpose (not='as regards'); so *ad aggerem* sc. *faciundum.* This mound they raised because the enemy were fighting *ex loco superiore.* **multum**, *confidere*, 9. 3 *n*. **ac non t.**, not *neque*, *non-timide*, forming really but one word, 'fearlessly,' Madv., § 458. **ab decumana p.**, Intr., § 29. 3. The camp was, we see from this, constructed entirely *consuetudine populi R.*, 23. 6. **ab**, i. 1. 5.

26.—2. **intritae**=*non tritae*, 'not worn out' (=*integrae*), here only in Caesar. The use of the negative *in* with participles is extremely rare, except when these have acquired an adjective force, *e.g.*, *incultus*, *indoctus*, *imparatus* (no *indocere* or *imparare* exist); cp. *invisus*, *infectus*, and *invocatus*, *indictus.* **ab**, 'in consequence of,' of the source, Liv. i. 17, *id a re...interregnum appellatum*, Roby, 1810.

3. **priusquam** and *antequam* in historic narrative often take the subjunctive even when there is no purpose, Roby, § 1674, iv. 14. 1.

4. **impugnare**, absolute, the object being easily supplied. Cic. *p. Quinct.* 2. 8, *illis id tempus impugnandi detur.*

5. **desperatis o. r.**, 3. 3 *n*. **per**, 'over,' 'across,' ii. 10. 3. **intenderunt**, 'sought'=*animum intenderunt ad*, Liv. xxxvi. 44. 3, *altum petere intendit.* **multa nocte**, 'late at night,' i. 22. 4.

27.—1. **quo in numero**, 'among whom'=*quorum* (*i.e.*, the tribes included in the *max. pars A.*) *in numero.* So *in eo numero* always=*in eorum* (the just named) *numero*, 13. 6 *n*.

2. **paucae ultimae nationis**=*p. quae ultimae erant*, *n.* (distinct from *paucae ultimarum nationum*)=farthest from Pyrenees.

28.—1. **qui essent**, 'such as were,' hence subjunctive.

3. **silvarum...silvae**, ii. 19. 5 *n*. **in opere**, 'at the work' of defending the camp with rampart and fosse.

29.—1. **deinceps**, 'one after another without break.' The word occurs, as here, between adjective (or pronoun) and substantive, so as to take the place of an adjective or participle, v. 40. 4, Liv. v. 51. 5, *horum deinceps annorum.* **inermibus inpr. mil.**, ablative absolute; the dative does not follow *impetum facere.* **pro**, 'to serve as,' 'by way of,' i. 26. 3. *Bell. C.* ii. 8. 1, *si pro castello turrim fecissent.*

2. Note the not uncommon collection of unlike ablatives, cp. iv. 4. 5. **extrema imp.**, 'the rear of his baggage'= *novissima.* **continuatione**, 'by reason of the unbroken succession of showers,' causal ablative, iii. 21. 3, *diligentiā*, v. 34. 4; *Bell. Civ.* ii. 37. 6, *non materia multitudine arborum deficere potuit.* **pelles**=*tentoria*, the ordinary tents of the summer camp, covered with skins. As these did not protect the soldiers against the severe weather he brings his troops into winter quarters, where they inhabited more substantial barracks (*hibernacula*), Intr. § 29. 6. **et...non possent**, not *neque*, to emphasize the negative, v. 43. 5, *recessumque primi non dabant. Bell. Civ.* i. 81. 2, *et...tabernacula statui passus non est.*

3. **vici, aedificia**, i. 5. 2. **reliquis civitatibus**, viz., the Venelli (17), Veneti and Sontiates (20). **bellum facere**, like πόλεμον ποιεῖν, 'to make (stir up) war,' *movere, concitare*, vii. 22. 1. Often with dative, iv. 22. 1; v. 28. 1; Cic. *p. Sull.* 20. 58, *ut hoc credi possit, eum bellum populo Romano facere voluisse.*

BOOK IV.

At the beginning of B.C. 55, the 4th year of the campaign, after the conquest of the whole land between the Pyrenees and the Rhine, the war appeared virtually at an end. Only some few tribes on the Belgic coast (iii. 28, 29) and at the foot of the Pyrenees (iii. 27. 2) were still free. In the following years Caesar has merely to quell isolated risings and to secure his conquests. It was with this end in view that the Germans and Britons were attacked.

1.—1, 2. **hieme, qui fuit annus**: cp. 29. 1, *luna plena, qui dies;* Roby, § 1068. **magna cum m.**, see i. 52. 2 *n.* **quo**=*in quod;* this was near its mouth. **exagitati**, ii. 29. 5.

4. **centum pagos**, i. 37. 3 *n.* Tac. *Germ.* 39. 1 recognises this division only in the case of the Semnones, while Caesar extends it to all the Suebi. Possibly at each fresh settlement

this national division took place. **quotannis singula milia.** This extensive levy did not go out in one body, but on a number of separate expeditions. **armatorum,** see i. 49. 3 *n.*

5. **qui...alunt,** ii. 14. 6 *n.* **alunt,** viz., by tilling the soil. **rursus** indicates repetition of the *action*, **invicem,** change of *persons*. There is therefore no pleonasm. **ratio,** 'scientific knowledge' of theory. **usus,** 'practice'; cp. ii. 20. 3, *scientia atque usus.*

7, 8. **longius,** of time, as vii. 9. 2, 71. 4; Sall. *Cat.* 29. 1. For the abl. **anno,** cp. i. 15. 5, 22. 1 *n.* **neque...licet,** mentioned as an universal German custom, vi. 22. 2. Caesar attributes much to the Suebi (with whom he, for the first time, became acquainted by his war against Ariovistus) which was really common to all the German tribes. **anno,** 'than one year,' vii. 32. 3. **sunt**=*versantur*, 'are occupied in'; cp. vi. 21. 3.

9, 10. **quae res,** ii. 5. 5 *n.* **atque,** iii. 15. 3 *n.* **locis frigidissimis,** 'in spite of this very cold climate,' abl. abs. **neque ...et,** like the Greek *οὔτε...τε.*

haberent...lavarentur. The impf. is not uncommon after the perf. with 'have,' even when, as here, the result is regarded as lasting. Cic. *p. Mil.* 13. 34, *adepti estis,...ne metueretis; ad Fam.* i. 7. 10, *profecisse tantum mihi videntur, ut auctoritate plus valerent.* The present is however usual; Madv., § 383, Roby, § 1510. For the fact, see vi. 21. 5.

2.—1. **quae bello ceperint**=*praedam;* cp. for a like periphrasis ii. 5. 5, *post eum quae essent,*='his rear.' **quam quo**=*quam eo* (*ideo*) *quod.* The usual form would be *non quo...desiderent, sed eo ut habeant.* It is used to give the reason which is seen not to be the true one, and so always takes the subjunctive and follows a negative (*non quo, non quod*) which is here implied in the comparative (hence also *ullam* is used). Cic. *ad Fam.* 10. 3. 4, *haec amore magis impulsus scribenda putavi, quam quo arbitrarer, te monitis egere.*

2, 3. **iumenta,** 'horses'; usually including also mules and oxen. **labor,** 'endurance,' 'capacity for work.' Cic. *Fam.* 13. 10. 31, *hominem magni laboris summaeque industriae.* **usus,** 'need,' vi. 15. 1. 6, cp. ii. 15. 4.

3.—1. Cp. vi. 23. 1, *civitatibus* (=*publice* here, opposed to what gives renown to individuals) *maxima laus est, quam*

latissime circum se vastatis finibus solitudines habere. **vacare,** sc. *incolis*, 'be uninhabited,' 'untilled,' etc. **significari...non posse.** A further reason is given at vi. 23. 3.

2. **a Suebis** to be taken with the following words *milia passuum DC*, as *latissime a suis finibus* in § 1. **agri,** nom. pl. **una ex parte,** in the district lying between the Danube, Neckar, Rhine, and Main. The distance, 600 miles, is an exaggeration: Caesar may have been misinformed or copyists may have blundered.

3. **succedunt**, not *sunt* or *incolunt*, because of the waste land round each tribe. **captus** ('according to German notions'), always thus metaphorically used in classical Latin. **fuit,** 'was,' viz., before the *Suebi* came to the front. **eiusdem generis,** *i.e.*, of the Germans. **multum,** iii. 9. 3 *n.*

4. **saepe...multis.** For the pleonasm, cp. Lucil. xxvi. 45: *Romanus populus...superatus proeliis saepest multis, numquam bello;* Liv. ii. 35. 8, *multis saepe bellis.* **gravitas,** 'weight,' 'influence.' **redegerunt,** ii. 27. 5 *n.*

4.—1. **in...causa** (=*condicione*), 'in the same case.' **supra,** c. 1. 2. **quos...qui,** cp. 28. 1: *naves, de quibus supra demonstratum est, quae...sustulerant,* cp. i. 1. 4 *n.* **diximus,** i. 16. 2 *n.*

3. **habuerant,** *i.e.*, before recrossing the Rhine.

4, 5. 430,000 had crossed with bag and baggage (c. 15). The point of crossing was near Emmerich, where the Rhine divides, and where the Menapii occupied both banks. They settled in the neighbourhood of Nymwegen and Kleve (Cleves). **omni...confecto,** for the combination of ablatives cp. iii. 29. 2. **inopinans:** Caesar never uses *nec* before a vowel, and therefore never uses *necopinans, necopinatus.*

7. **priusquam...fieret:** on the mood, see Roby, § 1672.

5.—**infirmitas,** 'instability'; **mobilitas,** ii. 1. 3 *n.* **nihil his committendum,** 'that no charge should be entrusted to them.' They might (thought Caesar) even change sides; cp. 15. 5 *n.* **his rebus,** viz., the answers they get, this being further defined by *atque auditionibus* ('mere hearsay'). **in vestigio,** 'on the spot'; *vestigium,* = the place where one stands: cp. 2. 3, Capes on Liv. xxi. 35. 12; cp. xxviii. 22. 15, *mori in vestigio quemque suo vidit.* The usual phrase is *e vestigio.* **servire,** 'blindly follow'; vii. 34. 1: *bello s.* = 'devote oneself to.'

6.—1-3. **graviori**, *e.g.*, the Gauls might combine with the Germans. **occurrere**, as at iii. 6. 4. **discederent**, into the heart of Gaul. **postulassent** = fut. perf. **omnia...fore paratos**, depending on a verb to be supplied from *invitatos*.

4, 5. **qua spe**, 'in the hope of which,' cp. v. 19. 2 *n.* **clientes**, i. 31. 6 *n.* **pervenerant**, *i.e.*, at the time when Caesar determined to make war on them. The words allude not to a combined movement of the whole tribe, but to irregular expeditions to the S., between the Rhine and Maas (Meuse). **constituit**, '*announced* his resolution'; as at *Bell. Civ.* i. 19. 2.

7.—**in ea loca...quibus in locis**, i. 6. 1 *n.* **a quibus**, sc. *locis.* **his** (not *iis*), referring to the Germans. **resistere**, 'offer resistance,' absolute. No *eis* need be supplied. Just so **deprecari**, 'to take to entreaties'; cp. v. 6. 2; vi. 4. 2.

4, 5. **dicere**, sc. *se.* **possederint**, 'gained,' from *possīdĕre* (=*potiri*); a rare verb, Liv. xxiv. 25. 3; xxxi. 31. 6; Lucr. 1. 386, *aer omne necessest...possidat inane.* **concedere**, 'give precedence,' absolute. **quem non** not = *quem s. non possint.* After *nemo est*, *nihil est*, *quis* (*quid*) *est*, the *non* goes closely with the relative. The close connection of the two words is further shown by the fact that *quin* is often substituted, as (*e.g.*) at vi. 39. 3. [The tone recalls the speeches of the Helvetii, i. 13, Ariovistus, i. 36, and Vercingetorix, vii. 29.]

8.—1. **sed** (the greater part of the speech is unimportant), *but* the end, etc. **his**, the Germans represented by the ambassadors. **remanerent**, impf. because of *fuit:* below the perf. is used to give *general* statements and to depict circumstances *then* present; cp. i. 14. 5, 6; 31, etc.

2. **verum**, 'true to its surroundings,' 'reasonable.' Cic. *Tusc.* iii. 29. 73, *rectum et verum est ut amemus;* Liv. xxxii. 33. 4, *sociorum audiri postulata verum esse.*

9.—**post diem tertium**, 'on the 3rd day (*i.e.*, two days) after'; the Roman reckoning being inclusive: 28. 1; vi. 33. 4. **trans Mosam**, viz., on the left bank, while the rest remained between the Rhine and the Maas (Meuse).

10.—1, 2. **ex**, 'from the direction of,' for the Vosges lay some distance N.E. of the Lingones. **ex Rheno** = *ex Rheno derivata.* **insulam efficit**, namely, with the N. arm of the Rhine and the North Sea; it is first mentioned by Caesar.

milibus, i. 15. 5 *n.* **ab eo**, sc. *Vacalo.* Caesar not having got so far north does not speak as an eye-witness; Geogr. Index.

4. **defluit**, for the last part of its course the Rhine forms islands which intersect it. **ingentibusque** = *iisque ingentibus.*

5. 'To whom belong those who are thought,' not 'some of whom are thought,' which would require *existimentur*, vi. 27. 1 *n.* **piscibus**, '*only* fish.' **capitibus**, 'mouths,' usually 'sources.'

11.—1, 2. **Caesar cum abesset** = *cum C. abesset; Caesar* is placed as if it were the subject alike of the chief and subordinate clauses; as it is, *e.g.*, c. 35. 1. **in itinere congressi** = *cum C., qui in it. erat, congressi.* **praemitteret**, an object is easily got from the context; in § 6 the more usual *mittit* is used. **eos**, *equites*, '*the* cavalry,' as § 6 shows.

3, 4. **fecisset**, sing., as ii. 26. 5, *et castra et legiones et imperator versaretur.* **condicione**, 'the proposal' made by Caesar in c. 8. 3, and regarded as still in force; hence the impf. *ferretur*, which is not here=fut. conj. **aquationis**: Napoleon thought the Niers was the stream. **eodem illo pertinere**, 'had the one end in view,' referring back to c. 9. 3, but *ut...reverterentur*, as at i. 5. 1, etc.

5, 6. **huc**, *i.e.*, to the place which he would reach on that day. **ut de...cognosceret**, 'in order to examine into,' with a view to deciding on them; i. 19. 5 *n.* [Caesar's demand betrays his intention (c. 13. 6) of getting the German chiefs under some pretext or other into his power.] **praefectos**, sc. *equitum* (which is usually inserted except when it can be easily got from the context, *e.g.*, iii. 26. 1; vii. 66. 3), as the following words, *qui cum omni equitatu antec.*, show. **nuntiarent ne**, iii. 5. 3 *n.* **sustinerent**, 'hold out,' 'stand on the defensive' (opposed to *proelio lacessere*); used abs. as at ii. 6. 4, *sustentare*, ii. 6. 1. **exercitu**, 'infantry,' i. 48. 4 *n.*

12.—1, 2. **quorum...numerus**, as c. 15. 3; *Bell. Civ.* iii. 29. 2, *quarum* (copiarum) *erat summa trium legionum;* cp. i. 29. 3 *n.* **nostris...nostros**, 21. 6 *n.* **resistentibus.** The pronoun is added to the abl. abs. only when emphatic; here we could not say *cum ii resisterent.* But other writers seldom use the participle thus, preferring the periphrasis. **ad pedes**, see c. 2. 3. **subfossis**, 'stabbed in the belly,' cp. i. 26. 3, *subicere;* iv. 19. 1, *succidere.* The asyndeton marks the quick succession of events. **compluribus nostris**: i. 52. 5 *n.* **perterritos**

egerunt, a stronger continuation of *in fugam coni.;* v. 17. 3; Liv. ii. 15. 4, *eques usque ad castra pavidos egit.* [The whole body of horse flies, as at i. 15, before 500 Helvetii; so here before 800 Germans. Tac., *Germ.* 32, says, *Tencteri super solitum bellorum decus equestris disciplinae arte praecellunt.* But the small numbers of the enemy make one suspect that the flight was preconcerted.]

4–6. **vir fortissimus**, words in apposition usually *follow* the proper name. **amicus**, i. 3. 4 *n.* **atque**, 'and so.'

13.—1. **condiciones**, viz. (c. 11. 5), that they were to come the next day, *ut de eorum postulatis* (sc. touching their removal into the lands of the Ubii) *cognosceret.* **petita pace**, c. 12. 1. **qui**, causal.

2, 3. **que**, explanatory, as it was *by* the return of the horse that their forces would be augmented. **infirmitate**, c. 5. 1. **existimabat**, 'he *therefore* thought.'

4. **ne...praetermittet** depend on *consilio*, 'the plan that no,' etc. **pugnae**, genit., 'of the fight,' *i.e.*, any day on which he could offer battle. **quod** = 'consisting in the fact that,' 'inasmuch as,' hence *quod* rather than *ut.* **postridie eius diei**, i. 23. 1. **Germani...venerunt**, only the *principes et maiores natu* came; cp. therefore c. 1. 1, *magna cum multitudine hominum:* 'the G. came in great numbers, all the chief men and elders being included in the embassy.' Dio. xxxix. 47. 48 says these had ostensibly opposed the attack and tried to attribute it to the rash youth.

5, 6. **simul...simul**, like ἅμα μὲν...ἅμα δέ, to denote the simultaneous occurrence of unlike things, here only in Caesar, in Cicero never. **sui purgandi causa**, iii. 6. 1 *n.* **dictum**, 'determined upon.' **de**, i. 42. 1 *n.*; v. 36. 3. **illos** could be omitted after *quod*, but is inserted to mark the opposition to the following clause, hence not *eos*.

14.—1. **acie triplici**, Intr. § 14. 4. **priusquam possent**, iii. 26. 3.

2. **omnibus rebus**, more exactly defined by *et celeritate...et discessu.* Just so of only two things, Liv. xxxvi. 43. 5, *ceteris omnibus superiores, et celeritate navium et varietate auxiliorum.* **suorum**, *i.e.*, of the *principes et maiores natu* (who were of course much missed), not of the cavalry sent across the Maas. **arma capiendi.** Why the change of construction? see iii. 6. 1 *n.* **perturbantur**, 'in their panic knew not whether it were better.'

3. **pristini** *diei*, = 'yesterday.' *Bell. Civ.* i. 74. 7, *pristina* (=of the day before) *lenitas;* usually = 'former.' **inter carros**, i. 26. 1. **impedimenta**, iii. 14. 7.

15.—1, 2. **clamore**, viz., of the women and children, who during the flight were slain behind the camp by the cavalry. **confluentem**, 'confluence' (= *ad confluentes Mosam et Rhenum*). But as *confluens* in this sense does not occur except in late writers, and as we must assume that the Waal is here inaccurately called *Rhenus*, others (*e.g.*, Heller) translate '*connecting* stream,' taking it of the Waal (*Vacalus*, c. 10. 1). **magno n. interfecto**, 'as (in the flight, not before) a great number were slain'; this slaughter was the cause of the despair. **reliqui perierunt.** Yet both tribes come into history later on; Tac. *Ann.* i. 51; *Germ.* 32. **oppressi.** The asyndeton shows that **oppressi** ('overcome') is not to be taken with *vi fluminis* only.

3. **ad unum omnes**, 'all to the very last man.' **ex t. b. timore**, not *ex tanto bello*, for the unexpectedly sudden destruction of the enemy averted the great war which the numbers of the enemy had led Caesar to dread. **se recipere**, not metaph. (as ii. 12. 1 *n*), as *in castra* shows.

5. This tends to prove that the Gauls had *not* invited the Germans. **libertatem concessit**, *i.e.*, kept them with him, but treated them as free men. On the whole affair see Intr., p. xxx.

16.—1, 2. **multis de causis**, Intr., p. xxiv. *n*. **cum intellegerent**, 'when they *should* see,' *i.e.*, 'by their being made to see.' **iustissima**, 'most adequate,' or 'valid.' **supra**, c. 9. 3.

4. 'Why should he demand that anything...should be under his sway or authority?' The genitives depend on *esse*, not on *quicquam;* this last being used on account of the negative implied in the question.

6, 7. **occupationibus**, 'state engagements'; subjective gen., cp. 22. 2; v. 54. 4, *Gallici belli officiis.* **nomen, opinio**, 'renown and fame' (in the eyes of the Germans, etc.) as *opinione* below. **eius** (*Caesaris*) **exercitūs**, one gen. depending on another, as i. 12. 7; vi. 29. 5; Cic. *p. Sull.*, 1. 2, *cum huius periculi propulsatione. Brut.* 2. 6, *quasi theatrum illius ingenii.* **ad**, 'in the eyes of' (as the passages quoted at iii. 9. 3 show), not = *usque ad*, as the words *etiam* and *ultimas* might lead us to think. Just so spoke the Gallic chiefs, i. 31. 16.

17.—1. The enemy could both prevent his crossing and cut off his retreat. Moreover the building of such a bridge would awe the barbarians; Florus iii. 10 (i. 44 Jahn), *cum Rhenum sic ponte quasi iugo captum viderent, fuga in silvas.*

2. **proponebatur**, 'lay before him.'

3. 'He joined to each other, by cross bars, stakes a foot and a half thick brought to a point just at their lower end, in pairs, two feet apart, proportioned in length to the depth of the stream.' They would of course be shorter where this was shallower. **dimensa**, passive, as ii. 19. 5.

4, 5. 'When he had, by his engines, sunk these into the river and made them fast and had then driven them home by pile-drivers, not quite vertically like an upright, but sloping and slant-wise, so that they inclined in the direction of the river's current, he next placed two other piles facing these, joined in the same manner, at a distance of 40 feet lower down, turned so as to meet the force and rush of the stream.' **adigo**, ii. 21. 3 *n.* **cum** with pluperf. of repeated action, iii. 4. 2 *n.* **fastigate**, the two pairs of piles would, if produced far enough, meet in the shape of a house-roof. **quadragenum**, *i.e.*, between the lower ends, not the breadth of the bridge itself; the heads would be 20 to 30 feet apart.

6. 'Both these pairs of piles were kept apart by beams two feet thick let in between them (this being the space which the cross-bar of the piles occupied), fastened by means of bolts on both sides at each end.' **fibulae** (=*figi-bulae*), 'iron bolts.'

7–10. In consequence of these (pairs of piles) being kept apart and fastened in opposite directions, so great was the strength of the work and such the character of its materials, that the greater the force of the water which was dashed against them, the more closely were they bound and held together. These beams were connected by timber laid over lengthwise and then covered with poles and hurdles; moreover, no less carefully (*i.e.*, strong as the bridge was already) piles were driven into the water obliquely at the lower part of the stream also, in order that stationed to serve the purpose of a ram (*i.e.*, to break the force of the water as a ram breaks a wall), and connected to the whole work they might break the force of the stream; and others (*i.e.*, other *sublicae*) there were in like manner at a moderate distance above the bridge, that if trunks of trees or ships were sent down stream to destroy the work, their force might be impaired by these defences, and they might not injure the bridge.' **discludere** = *distinere.* **se incitare**, iii. 12. 1. **directa**, *i.e.*, at right angles

to the banks. **excipere**, iii. 13. 1. **aliae**, *sublicae*, these being upright. **deiciendi operis**, gen., depending on *naves*. 'Ships (destined for) the destruction'; cp. v. 8. 6, *quas* (naves) *sui quisque commodi fecerat.* Liv. ix. 45. 18, *ut mitterent oratores pacis petendae amicitiaeque.* **his defensoribus**, abl. abs. = *his defendentibus. Defensores* not here a technical term = 'pile-protectors.' The subst. is put instead of the partic., to show that their office was lasting, not merely temporary. In the accompanying illustration it is only for the sake of conciseness that the *sublicae* above the bridge (g) are called *defensores.* [The site of the bridge is quite uncertain: probably it was at Neuwied, south of Bonn; according to others, at Bonn or at Andernach.] See illustration at end of the Notes.

18.—1. **effecto**, 'completed,'=*perfecto*, as often in Caesar. **diebus quibus**, iii. 23. 2.

2, 3. **firmo**, i. 3. 8. **liberaliter**, 'kindly,' as ii. 5. 1. **respondit, iubet**: for change of tense cp. v. 49. 6 *n.*

4. **institui**, 'built'; v. 11. 4, 52. 2. **fugam comparare**, 'take to flight'; (*parare*, vii. 61. 4), like *bellum parare*, lit. 'prepare.' Contrast Liv. xxviii. 33. 1, *ad iter se comparare.* **quos...habebant**, c. 16. 2.

19.—1, 2. **vicis aedificiisque**, cp. i. 5. 2. **nuntios dimisisse ut**, c. 11. 6; iii. 5. 3. **silvis** (cp. vi. 41. 1), not *silvas*, as *deponere in* always goes with an abl.; cp. the phrase *ibi deponere.* In the case of persons only *apud* is used, vii. 63. 3.

3, 4. **hunc**, 'as such,' 'to serve this purpose.' **medium regionum**, cp. vi. 13. 10, *regio totius Galliae media;* not to be compared with i. 34. 1. **rebus...rerum**, i. 6. 1 *n.* **ut iniceret**, explanatory clause, as i. 5. 1 *n.* **ut** is repeated ('Anaphora') like *quod* in i. 19. 1. **obsidione**, 'pressure,' c. 3. 4, 16. 5. [Caesar again gives his reasons for crossing, to show that, small as had been the apparent results, his object was really gained. Suet., *Caes.* 25, greatly exaggerates: *Germanos...primus ponte fabricato aggressus maximis affecit cladibus;* as does Caesar himself, *Bell. Civ.* i. 7. 6: *cuius imperatoris ductu...omnem Galliam Germaniamque pacaverint*; cp. vii. 65. 4 *n.*]

20.—1. **ad sept. vergit**, i. 16. 2. **intellegebat** = *sciebat.* This is mentioned only in iii. 9. 10, but the ringleader of the revolt among the Bellovaci (ii. 14. 4) also fled there. [The grounds given for the expedition cannot be the real ones; cp. Intr., p. xxiv. *n.*]

2. **deficeret**, 'not suffice.' **cognovisset**, Suet., *Caes.* 58, makes this first expedition a mere reconnoitring party, and Tac., *Agric.* 10, speaks as if it was only in Agricola's time that Britain was known to be an island. **adisset et persp.... cognovisset**, i. 46. 1. **perspicere**, 'survey accurately.' **Gallis incognita**, but cp. ii. 4. 7; iii. 8. 1.

3. **temere**=*facile*. **Gallias**, pl., Gaul being made up of three parts: so *Hispaniae*=Spain. With the statement here contrast v. 13. 1.

4. **maiorum**, including both the *longae* and *onerariae*. The merchants would need no large harbours for their little vessels, hence their ignorance in spite of frequent visits. **Qui essent ...idonei**, 'which were the harbours suitable'; what would *qui portus idonei essent* mean?

21.—1. **periculum**, 'trial,' i. 40. 5, connected with ex-*peri*-or, *peri*-tus, περάω, πειράω. **idoneum**, 'the right man.' **Gaius Volusenus Quadratus** is mentioned iii. 5. 2; vi. 41. 2. In viii. 48. 1, and *Bell. Civ.* iii. 60. 4, he is a *praefectus equitum*.

4, 5. **Veneticum bellum**, iii. 9. **polliceantur dare**: the more exact construction is *se daturos esse*, as c. 22. 1, but the pres. inf. is sometimes used to mark the certain and immediate fulfilment of the promise.

6. **quibus** (*legatis*). **auditis**, abl. abs., not dative with *pollicitus*. Such constructions as *quibus auditis...eos* (what is the conciser expression?) throw especial weight into the participial clause, cp. 12. 1; iii. 14. 4; v. 4. 3, 44. 6; vi. 4. 4, 43. 1, etc. **liberaliter** (c. 18. 3). **polliceri** (used absolutely), 'make kind promises.' Cic. *de Div.* ii. 17. 38, *bene promittere; Fam.* 7. 5. 1, *minus ei prolixe de tua voluntate promisi;* Sall. *Cat.* 41. 5, *praecipit ut bene polliceantur.*

7. **quem...cuius**, i. 1. 4 *n.* **Atreb. superatis**, on the Sabis, ii. 23. 1. **ibi**=*apud Atrebates*. **Atr. sup., ibi**, as § 3. Cp. i. 38. 7, *oppido occupato, ibi praesidium collocat.* **regem constituerat**, Intr., p. xxii. This Comm. (vii. 75, 76) took a chief part in the revolt of B.C. 52, for which reason Caesar inserts *arbitrabatur*. [This is an indication that Caesar wrote the commentaries, not separately, but as a whole at the end of the war. Intr., p. xxxi.]

8, 9. **fidem sequi**, 'trust to the good faith,'=*in fidem se tradere* (*in fidem tutelamque tr.*, Liv. xxxviii. 31. 2), or *permittere*, ii. 3. 2; *recipere in f.*, c. 21. 3: cp. ii. 15. 1. **se**, Caesar, in whose name Comm. was to speak. **qui...auderet**, 'seeing

that he did not venture.' The words contain a censure on the incomplete carrying out of the commission; *arbitratus*, § 1; *arbitrabatur*, § 7; like *peritissimus habebatur*, i. 21. 4.

22.—1, 2. **superioris temporis consilio**, see iii. 28. **consuetudinis**, viz., of sparing those who voluntarily gave themselves up. **bellum**, iii. 29. 3. **anni tempus**, c. 20. 1. **tantularum rerum**, 'brought about by such trifles,' c. 16. 6 *n*. **Britanniae**, 'preferred to Britain,' *i.e.*, to the expedition to B.

3, 4. **eos**, the Morini; **cogere**, 'collect.' **contrahere**, 'bring together,' to a definite place. Cp. ii. 2. 4, *manus cogi*, *exercitum in unum locum conduci;* i. 16. 4, (*frumentum*) *conferri*, *comportari*. **ab milibus p. viii**, cp. ii. 7. 3 *n*. The preposition *ab* inserted with *ex eo loco* is exceptional. Liv. xxxvii. 6. 4, *ab sex milibus fere passuum inde*.

6. **eo...quod** = *tanto* (praesidio)...*quantum*.

23.—1. **rebus**, 'arrangements.' **solvit**, 'set sail,' as v. 23. 6, sc. *naves* (which is inserted c. 36. 3). But at c. 28. 1, *naves solverunt*, *naves* is nom. See Geogr. Index, s. v. *Itius portus*. **tertia fere vigilia**, i. 12. 2.

2. **tardius**, the result being that they lost the favourable wind, and could not catch Caesar; in opposition to this stands *ipse...attigit*. **administratum**, 'the work was taken in hand,' absolute, c. 29. 2, 31. 3. **hora quarta**, iii. 15. 5. **expositas**, 'drawn up,' to scare away the invaders. Join *copias-armatas* (virtually one word) *expositas consp*.

3. **atque...continebatur**, a more definite continuation of *haec erat natura*. **angustis**, 'contracted,' hence 'steep.' **continebatur**, 'was shut in': the hills came right down to the sea. Caesar reached the coasts near Dover.

4. **ad horam nonam**, at the end of August (c. 29. 1), about 3.30 p.m. **in ancoris**. The fuller phrase is *in ancoris constiterunt, Bell. Civ.*, iii. 28. 1; but *ib.* 102. 4, *ipse ad ancoram constitit*.

5. **ut quae** = *quippe quae*. **administrarentur** depends on *monuit*, omitting *ut*. **ad nutum**, 'at a nod,' to be taken with *celer motus;* **ad tempus**, 'at the right moment,' with *instabilis motus*.

6. **ventum et aestum** (iii. 12. 1) **secundum**. A west wind sprang up and brought Caesar round the South Foreland about seven Roman miles, to the flat coast between Walmer

Castle and Deal. **aperto ac plano**, 'free from rocks and open.' The sea-bottom shelved so gradually that the ships could not touch the shore: c. 24. 2.

24.—1, 2. **Romanorum**, v. 32. 1 *n.* **essedarii**, c. 23. **reliquis copiis**, the so-called 'military abl.,' ii. 7. 3 *n.* **egredi prohib.**, ii. 4. 2 *n.* **ignotis locis**, cp. 1. 10, *locis frigidissimis*, § 3, *notissimis locis*. **simul et...et**, for a like state of things cp. ii. 20. 1.

3, 4. **insuefactus**, 'trained,' 'inured,' not found elsewhere. **quo** refers both to *alacritate* and *studio*. Caesar usually avoids this conciseness when words of different genders come together, *e.g.*, ii. 3. 5, *unum imperium unumque magistratum*.

25.—1, 2. **motus expeditior**, cp. iii. 13. 7, *ut una celeritate et pulsu remorum praestaret*. The use of rudders in larger ships was unknown to the Britons as well as to the Veneti, iii. 15. 3, hence the meaning of § 2, *remorum motu...permoti*. At the unwonted sight they halted and gave ground a little.

3. **atque**, 'and now,' marks the transition to a new subject. **qui aqu. ferebat**=*aquilifer;* Intr., § 27. 3. **contestatus ut**, 'with a prayer that,' so *obtestari*. **ea res**, *i.e.*, his project. **praestitero**, 'I shall *have* done.' The determined man in his mind's eye regards his duty as already done.

5, 6. **hos...universi**, only of the troops near the *aquilifer*, as the next words show. **cohortati** (sc. *se*) **inter se**, 'calling upon each other,' cp. vi. 8. 1, 40. 4; *Bell. Civ.*, i. 21. 3, *ut contingant inter se*. **ex proximis navibus**, condensed for *ii, qui in proximis navibus erant, ex iis cum conspexissent.*

26.—1. **ordines servare**, 'keep their lines unbroken'; *Bell. Civ.* ii. 41. 6, *in loco manere ordinesque servare*. **signa** (ii. 25. 1 *n.*) **subsequi**, *i.e.*, keep in their maniple. The two words are combined, *Bell. Civ.* i. 71. 3, *neque ordines neque signa servare*, and Liv. viii. 34. 10. **quibuscumque...aggregabat**, so ii. 21. 6.

2, 3. **conspexerant** with **adoriebantur** as above, *occurrerat ...aggregabat*, cp. iii. 4. 2 *n.*, 14. 6. **ab latere aperto**, i. 25. 6 *n.* **universos**, opposed to *aliquos singulares*, c. 25. 5.

4. **speculatoria navigia**, small, light, and without a beak; Liv. xxxvi. 42. 8, *multis praeterea minoribus (navibus) quae aut apertae rostratae, aut sine rostris speculatoriae erant* [cp. Veget. 5. 7]. **scaphae**, 'boats' belonging to the men of war.

iussit...submittebat. The once manned ships (aor.) were again and again sent to help (impf.).

5. **simul**=*simul atque.* **neque**=*neque tamen*, i. 47. 1 *n.* **quod equites** *sqq.* = 'Our men could not pursue because they had no horsemen'; but Caesar merely gives the *reason* of their absence. **cursum tenere,** 'keep to their course (c. 28. 2) and make the island.' **capere,** thus used, v. 8. 3, 23. 4, 36. 4. On the matter of fact see c. 28.

27. **ex fuga,** see ii. 12. 1 *n.* **obsides daturos,** etc. These words give more detailed information as to the object of the embassy. **supra,** c. 21. 8. **demonstraveram,** see note on *dixeramus*, ii. 1. 1, and for the sing., on i. 16. 2. **orator,** 'one sent to plead a cause,' and so often used (*e.g.*, Verg. *Aen.* 7. 153, *centum oratores augusta ad moenia regis | ire iubet*), especially when the idea of deprecating the enemy's wrath is prominently brought out. **legatis missis,** c. 21. 5.

28.—1. **post diem quartum** (9. 1), **quam,** 'on the 4th day after.' **supra,** c. 22. 4, 23. 1. **de quibus...quae,** c. 4. 1. **sustulerant,** 'had taken on board,' 'conveyed.' **superior portus**=the *ulterior p.*, cp. c. 23. 1. **solverunt,** c. 23. 1 *n.*

2. **sui,** 'to himself, 'with great personal danger'; the objective gen. of the pronoun=the more usual *suo.* Elsewhere in Caesar [cp. v. 29. 2] and Cicero, it follows only verbal substantives, and here it more clearly brings out the personality of the sufferer. **inferiorem partem,** the parts of the south coast immediately to the west.

3. **tamen,** 'these having notwithstanding anchored,' *i.e.*, notwithstanding the violence of the storm. **adversa nocte,** against (*i.e.*, right into) the night,' as *adverso flumine, colle,* etc., with the interchange, so common in Latin, of ideas of space and time. [Not 'though the night was unfavourable.']

29.—1. **luna plena.** According to astronomical calculations this fell on the night of Aug. 30, 31, B.C. 55 (Caesar having landed Aug. 27). **qui dies,** viz., *plenilunii* (c. 36. 2, *die aequinoctii*). **die,** the astronomical day, and so neither strange after *nocte*, nor='season' in general; cp. iv. 1. 1. **aestus maximos,** spring tides; cp. Plin. *Nat. Hist.* ii. 97 (99). 215, *aestus maxime tumentes.* In the Mediterranean there are no spring tides. For these two epithets see i. 18. 10 *n.*

2. **quibus...curaverat,** see Crit. App. **compleverat.** The tense shows that this part of the disaster was over when the

afflictare took place. **afflictabat**, iii. 12. 1. **administrandi**, used absolutely, 'of managing the ships.' **auxiliandi**, helping them from without.

3, 4. **ancoris...armamentis**, iii, 14. 7 *n.* **constabat**, iii. 9. 9. **et...non**, iii. 29. 2 *n.*

30.—1. **convenerant**, see c. 27. 7. **hoc**, ablative.

2. **rursus**, not 'for the 2nd time,' but of their changed plans. **deducere**, viz., to the field of the coming battle.

31. **eventus**, 'fate'; Liv. x. 29. 5, *ibi auditur de P. Decii eventu.* Usually='outcome,' 'result,' as vii. 49. 2. **ad o. casus**, 'to meet every emergency.' **eas res**, plural, as referring to the repairing, not only of the ships, but also of the rigging, etc.; cp. v. 11. 3 *n.* **continenti**, *i.e.*, Gaul.

32.—1. **una** goes closely with *ex consuet.*, 'a single legion as usual.' **appellabatur**, not=*erat.* At their raising the legions had each a number which depended on the number of legions then existing, and this name it kept even when some of these were disbanded. Besides the 7th (the first veteran legion in his army, Intr. p. xxvii.) Caesar took also the 10th to Britain. **interposita**, 'occurring.' **hominum**, *i.e.*, the Britons. **quam c. ferret**, 'than was usual,' *ferret*, lit. = 'brought.' **ea...quam**, i. 6. 1 *n.*

2. **in stationibus**, *i.e.*, the four cohorts at their posts by the four camp doors, half a cohort at a time watching at each door. **in stationem s.**, 'to take their post,' *i.e.*, relieve them on guard: cp. Intr., § 29. 7. **reliquis**, the remaining. **reliquas**, the four still remaining when these two had also gone on guard.

3. **sustinere**, absolute, as c. ii. 6. **legione...conici**, sc. *in eam*, 'that the legion was crowded together, and missiles cast upon them'; the abl. gives the reason why they were thus exposed, and is therefore preferred to the more usual *in confertam legionem;* see c. 21. 6 *n.*

incertis ordinibus, 'since their lines were broken.' **perturbaverant**, viz., before Caesar's arrival.

33.—1. **ex essedis**, qualifies *pugnae* as an attribute (=τῆς ἐξ ἁμαξῶν μάχης), without the help of a participle or relative clause; cp. v. 13. 1, *omnes ex Gallia naves; ib.* § 4, *certis*

ex aquis mensuris; vi. 37. 3, *cohors in statione.* **perequitant**, 'drive round.' **ipso**, 'by the mere (*i.e.*, merely by the) fright'; *Bell. Civ.* i. 56. 2, *ut ipsa multitudine classis terreatur.* **cum se, i....proeliantur** (see c. 1. 5 *n.*), *i.e.*, when they penetrated into the spaces between the several troops of the enemy's horse; Liv. xliv. 41. 8, *Romani, quacumque data intervalla essent, insinuabant ordines suos.* See the detailed description in v. 16. 2.

3. **incitatos**, 'at full gallop.' **brevi**, 'quickly.' **per**, 'along,' ii. 10. 3; iii. 26. 5.

34.—1-3. **quibus rebus**, instrumental. **novitate**, causal abl., giving the reason why they were thrown into confusion, *his rebus.* **adventu**, iii. 23. 4 *n.* **se ex t. r.**, see ii. 12. 1. **lacessendum**, without an object, 'for provoking the foe to battle,' i. 15. 3. **haec**, the sudden attack of the Britons, not the events immediately preceding. **qui erant reliqui**, c. 32. 1.

4. **quae continerent**, 'so as to keep,' Madv. 364, note 1. **praedicaverunt**, 'boastingly declared.' The hope of booty was disappointed as Caesar *sine impedimentis legiones transportaverat*, c. 30. 1. **rebus**, 'means,' lit. '(the mention of) these things.'

35.—1. Cp. 26. 5. **ante**, c. 21. 7.

2. **proelium committere**, 'join battle.' **diutius**, *i.e.*, not after the fighting began. **ac**, 'but,' c. 36. 4; v. 19. 3; vii. 4. 3; Cic. *p. Rosc. Am.* 4. 6, *animo non deficiam, et id, quod suscepi, perferam.*

3. **tanto spatio...quantum.** 'These they pursued so far as their powers of running allowed'; lit. 'within as much space as they could manage to get by running and strength (needed to keep the running up).' **quantum**, = *quanta eorum facultas fuit*, and does not require *spatium* to be supplied, cp. ii. 11. 6; v. 19. 3. **quos...ex iis**, see i. 12. 3 *n.*

36. **de**, 'to treat of,' as c. 27. 1. **antea**, see 27. 5. **aequinoctii**, at which time (in B.C. 55 the autumn equinox fell on Sept. 24) severe storms might well be expected. So also of second expedition, v. 23. 5, *ne anni tempore excluderetur, quod aequinoctium suberat.* **infirmis**, as having been repaired and good enough only for fine weather (c. 31. 3). **subiciendam**, 'exposed to the chances of a storm. **nanctus**, the original

form, comes in the best mss. of Caesar, as well as the more usual *nactus*. **naves solvit**, c. 23. 1 *n*. **capere**, 'reach,' 26. 5. **reliqui**, *qui in navibus erant*, instead of *reliquae naves;* this is the 'constructio ad sensum' (*κατὰ σύνεσιν*). **et**, but, c. 35. 2 *n*.

37.—1. **quibus rebus**, viz., these two *onerariae*. **castra**, the camp which Sulpicius Rufus (see c. 22. 5) had been obliged to construct. **pacatos**, see c. 22. 1 and 2. **Morini...suorum**, cp. i. 51. 2, *Germani suas copias eduxerunt*. **circumsteterunt**, 'surrounded (them)'; the object is omitted as at i. 48. 6, and as with the following word *iusserunt*.

2. **orbe facto**, Intr., § 15. **omnem equitatum**, not *all* the horse (he had 5000, c. 12. 1), for Titurius and Cotta (c. 22) had taken these, but a force made up of the horse left behind with Sulpicius and those who had failed to cross into Britain. **horis** need not be taken=*quam horas*, as we see by comparing such passages as *Bell. Civ.* i. 46. 1, *cum esset pugnatum continenter horis quinque;* cp. i. 15. 5 *n*.

38.—1. **rebellio**, 'renewal of war.' They had surrendered, c. 22. 1; cp. iii. 10. 2, *rebellio facta post deditionem*. **siccitates**, pl., to suit *paludum;* cp. vi. 30. 3, *silvarum ac fluminum petunt propinquitates*.

2, 3. **quo**, 'which (viz., the swamps, cp. iii. 28) they had used as,' etc.; attracted to the gender and number of the complement *perfugio*. **qui...duxerant**, see c. 22. 5.

5. **dierum xx supplicatio**, see note on ii. 35. 4. The extra length on this occasion was to celebrate the passage (1) of the Rhine, and (2) into Britain. This last was doubtless exaggerated in importance by Caesar's despatches (*literis*). And yet even if the actual *results* were small, it was felt that two countries were opened up and the hope of further conquests was aroused. Tac. *Agr.* 13, *igitur primus omnium Romanorum divus Iulius cum exercitu Britanniam ingressus quamquam prospera pugna terruerit incolas ac littore potitus sit, potest videri ostendisse posteris, non tradidisse*. This is also the judgment of Dio Cassius, 39. 53; cp. Plut. *Caes.* 23. In opposition to the honour Cato proposed that Caesar should be given up to the Usipetes and Tencteri for his conduct towards them.

BOOK V.

1.—1. B.C. 55, the 5th year of the war. Detained by the arrangements which he had made, it was not till the new year that Caesar went **in Italiam** = *in citeriorem Galliam, ad conventus agendos*, i. 54. 3.

legatis, the 8 *legati* who commanded one legion each, so not = *iis legatis, quos:* see c. 24. 2 and i. 52. 1; cp. c. 52. 4, *centuriones tribunosque militum appellat, quorum egregiam... virtutem cognoverat.*

curarent, on the sequence of tenses cp. i. 3. 5 *n.*

2. **subductiones**, 'beaching.' The disaster on the British coast had shown this to be necessary. **nostrum mare**, 'the Mediterranean,' as in Greek ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς (παρ' ἡμῖν) θάλασσα, ἥδε ἡ θάλασσα. The name *Mediterranean*, except as meaning 'far from the sea,' is not classical. The consensus of writers earlier than Pomponius (A.D. 138 fl.) is to make *nostrum mare* = sea between west Italy and Straits of Gibraltar. **minus magnos fl.** The truth would seem to be that the waves in inland seas (such as the Baltic and Mediterranean) are not so long as those of the ocean, and so, following each other in quicker succession, are more dangerous to ships. The waves of the Channel are notoriously choppy.

maribus, *i.e.*, the various parts of the Mediterranean [here only from *mare*, from *mas* common].

3. **actuariae**, light ships to be rowed as the name shows (*remis agere*), and as is stated c. 8. 4 (*remigandi*); which purpose alone their *humilitas* would serve; Liv. xxxviii. 38. 8, *decem naves actuarias, quarum nulla plus quam triginta remis agatur.* **imperat fieri**, as c. 7. 6, *retrahi imp. Imperare* in good prose goes only with a *passive* acc. and inf.

4. **Hispania**, rich in metals of all kinds, producing also the *spartum* (esparto, '*stipa tenacissima*,' Linnaeus), a kind of broom, of which rigging was made; Plin. *Hist. N.* xix. 2. 30, Liv. xxii. 20. 6.

armandas, see iii. 13. 1, 14. 1; iv. 29. 3.

5. **conventibus**, 'assizes'; see i. 54. 3. **Illyricum**, ii. 35. 3.

7. **rerum** = *incursionum*, see iii. 4. 3 *n.* **demonstrant**, *Pirustae per legatos*, joining *mittunt seseque demonstrant;* there is therefore no change of subject, nor is *demonstrant* required. **paratos satisfacere**, i. 44. 4 *n.* **de iniuriis s.**, i. 42. 1 *n.*

8. **percepta** = *audita et cognita;* vi. 8. 7, *fuga percepta.*

9. **arbitros**, 'arbitrators,' who based their decisions not on statute law but on grounds of equity (*aequum et bonum*) and subjective proof (*iudicium ex bona fide*). **dare**, the technical word in this connection, so *iudices* (*iudicium, testes*) *dare*. **litem aestimare**, 'assess the costs.' **poenam**, to be paid by Pirustae over and above restitution.

2.—2. **circuitis**, *circumire*, transitive, 'to go a round of inspection,' hence 'to inspect'; so with *vigilias*, *portas*. **in** *inopia*, see i. 27. 4 *n*. **cuius** = *cuius generis naves*, of the above described pattern. **instructas**, 'fitted up,' sc. *armamentis*. **quin** follows *neque multum abesse*, no regard being paid to the intervening words *ab eo*, which would formally take *ut;* with which however the clause *quin deduci possint* is to be closely taken. Cic. *Fam.* v. 7. 1, *illud non dubito, quin...res publica nos inter nos conciliatura sit;* where in like manner *illud* does not affect the construction. **deduci**, 'launched.' **possint** not *possent; invenit* is present.

3. **quid fieri velit, ostendit**, an often recurring formula, = 'he gives the necessary directions'; see iii. 18. 2; vii. 16. 2, 27. 1. **huic rei**, 'for this purpose,' viz., that they should muster there without danger of an attack. **quod militum**, iii. 16. 2 *n*.

4. **concilia**. These assemblies of the Gauls convoked by Caesar (and so different from those mentioned, i. 30. 4; ii. 4. 4) meet us here for the first time, as they were not introduced until Gaul was to some extent subjugated; cp. vi. 3. 4, *concilio Galliae primo vere, ut instituerat, indicto*. The auxiliaries whom Caesar wished to have he included in them, vi. 4. 6. The non-attendance of the Treveri was a sign of defection, vi. 3. 4. **neque imperio parebant**, as also in the 8th year of the war, viii. 25. 2, *cultu et feritate non multum a Germanis differebat* (*civitas Treverorum*), *neque imperata unquam, nisi exercitu coacta, faciebat*.

3.—1. **plurimum totius G.**, see i. 3. 6. **supra**, viz., iii. 11. 1. **Rhenum tangit**, this proximity to the Germans made them more dangerous, see c. 2, § 4.

2. Here again the struggle of rival chiefs helps Caesar's plans; they preferred to be subject to the foreigner rather than to the rival. Cingetorix was Indutiomarus' son-in-law, c. 56. 3.

4. **in silvam abditi**, *constructio praegnans;* contrast i. 39. 4 *in tabernaculis abditi*.

5. **privatim** is opposed to *civitati*, defines *suis* more closely, and by virtue of its place in the sentence is practically an adj. [as *deinceps*, iii. 29. 1 *n.*]; Liv. vi. 39. 6, *maximo privatim periculo, nulli publice emolumento.* Unable as they were to further the interests of the state, they put in petitions on their own behalf. **petere de**, see i. 42. 1 *n.*

6. **discessu**, both causal and temporal, as *adventu*, iii. 23. 4. **laberetur**, 'fall away,' *i.e.*, revolt.

7. **si...permitteret.** Caesar had it in his power to seize and treat him as an enemy; cp. the beginning of next chapter. **fidei permiss**, cf. *fidem sequi*, iv. 21. 8 *n.*

4.—3. **principibus c....hos**: see iv. 21. 6 *n.* **inter suos**, the people of Cingetorix. **cuius perspexisset**, causal conj. as iv. 21. 9, and as *qui fuisset* in § 4.

4. **suam gratiam minui**, explanatory of *id.* **gratia**, 'popularity,' 'influence.' **hoc dolore**, 'through resentment at this'; see notes on iii. 13. 6; v. 19. 2.

5.—1. **constitutis**, 'settled,' iv. 23. 1. **Meldi** would send the ships, light built as they were, down the Seine (as in iii. 9. 1, down the Loire). **cursum tenere**, iv. 26. 5.

2. **atque**, 'and so,' iv. 35. 2.

3. **milium qu.**, dependent on *equitatus*. **numero**, often pleonastically added to numerals, i. 5. 2, 49. 3; iii. 26. 6. **cum abesset**, iv. 16. 1 *n.*

6.—1. **ante**, i. 3, 18-20. **magni animi cognoverat**, i. 28. 5 *n.*; cp. i. 18. 3. **cupidum...magnae.** The anaphora of these adjectives gives them emphasis; cp. i. 19. 2; vii. 38. 2.

2. As Caesar had elsewhere appointed kings (*e.g.*, Commius, iv. 21. 7; Cavarinus, v. 51. 2), the statement might well gain credence. Perhaps, too, the offer had been actually made by Caesar to gain over so dangerous an enemy. **neque**, 'yet not,' i. 47. 1; iv. 26. 5.

3. **quod diceret**, 'because, *as he said*, he was detained by religious scruples' (such as *omina, auguria*: cp. i. 50. 5, *sortibus et vaticinationibus*) or 'religious grounds' (such as vows or sacrifices). But D. is purposely obscure, his reason being obviously but a pretext.

5. **territare.** The historic infinitives here express the passion and haste of the various actions.

6. **fidem interponere**, 'he gave the rest his word [*reliqui*, as opposed to D. himself] and required of them their promise on oath': *fidem interponere*, c. 36. 2. **ut administrarent**, while 'that they *should*,' etc., gives the request of Dumnorix, the usual acc. and inf. (*e.g.*, c. 27. 10; i. 31. 7) would give the purport of the oath, 'that they *would*.' [Notice that *suam* is in the brisk narrative not unnaturally omitted before *fidem*.]

7.—1. **quod...tribuebat.** Caesar thought he must oppose Dum. in every way, because he saw the danger of the defection of the Aedui.

3. **commoratus**, '*during* his stay,' not 'having stayed'; cp. the note on *usus*, ii. 7. 1; also vii. 32. 1, *Avarici commoratus ...exercitum reicit*, Madv., § 431, note 2. **Corus** (*Chorus*, *Caurus*), N.W. wind, Ἀργέστης. **ventus** in apposition, as *terra Gallia*, *mare Oceanus;* see i. 30. 2 *n.* **magn. partem omn. temporis**, cp. vi. 18. 2, *spatia omnis temporis.*

4. **milites**, 'infantry,' as c. 10. 1; so *exercitus*, i. 48. 4 *n.* **consc. in n.**, C. elsewhere *c. naves.*

5, 6. **impeditis**, 'embarrassed,' virtually = *occupatis.* **retrahi imperat**, see c. i. 3 *n.*

7. **pro sano**, 'like a sane man,' cp. iii. 18. 3; Plaut. *Menaechm.* 298, *pro sano loqueris quom me appellas nomine;* Liv. xxiv. 2. 4, *ne quid non pro sociis egisse viderentur.* **qui neglexisset**, 'seeing he had,' etc., cp. *cuius...perspexisset*, c. 4. 3 *n.*

8. **enim**, an adversative, not causal, conjunction is required, see Crit. App. **clamitans**, 'crying aloud,' intensive; *saepe* is not therefore pleonastic. **liberum...civitatis**, Caesar does not shrink from mentioning D.'s appeal to his freedom and independence; see Intr. p. xxix. The express addition, *ut erat imperatum*, shows how far he was from disavowing responsibility for the deed.

CC. 8-23.—CAESAR'S SECOND EXPEDITION TO BRITAIN.

8.—1. **Labienus**, the most experienced of his *legati*, is left in Gaul, as Caesar mistrusted the state of the Gallic mind: cp. the following *quaeque in Gallia gererentur.* **p. tempore e. p. re**, 'as time and circumstance should demand.'

2. **quem** follows *pari* = *eodem.* **Africus** = λίψ. **cursum non tenuit**: iv. 26. 5. **et**, 'but,' iv. 35. 2 *n.* **delatus aestu.** The fleet sailed first in a N.W. direction, then on the

change of tide to the N.E., so that the North Foreland was seen to the left, no other land being visible. **sub sinistra rel.**, *i.e.*, *praeternavigatam sub sinistra iacentem.*

3. **aestus**, 'tide.' **remis**, abl. instr., 'he rowed hard in order to make,' etc. **caperet**, iv. 26. 5, 36. 4. **qua cognoverat**, see iv. 23. 6 note.

4. **vectoriis navigiis**, 'transport ships,' abl. abs. **gravibusque**, 'heavily laden besides.' He had especially built them for the purpose, c. 1. 2.

6. **annotinis**, built and used the year before, =*veteres*, cp. c. 1. 1. For the termination cp. *diu-tinus*, *horno-tinus*, etc. **quas s. c.** (naves) **fecerat**, 'for their own service'; cp. iv. 17. 10, *naves deiciendi operis.* **quisque** = 'certain individuals'; of course every one had not a private vessel, but only those who could afford it; cp. vii. 22. 1 *n.*

9.—1. **cohortibus x**, not *legione*, because the 10 cohorts were made up from the various legions, perhaps two from each. **de tertia vigilia**, i. 12. 2 note. **veritus**, as rare, as *metuere*, *timere*, are common (*e.g.*, iv. 16. 1; vii. 56. 2) with dative. **molli**, 'gently rising,' vii. 46. 2, *ad molliendum clivum.* **aperto**, free from rocks, stones, and timber, and so accessible from the land. **ad ancoram**, sing., like our 'at anchor,' there being no need to mention each ship specially. On the other hand, cp. iv. 23. 4, *in ancoris.* **et praefecit**, to be taken after *contendit*, not belonging to the intervening clause, *quod...relinquebat.*

3, 4. **flumen**, the Great Stour. **nancti**, iv. 36. 3.

6. **rari**, 'in small detachments,' opposed to *conferti*, see c. 16. 4. **propugnare ex**, *i.e.*, to throw missiles from [not to issue forth and fight]. So vii. 86. 5, *ex turribus propugnare*; cp. especially *Bell. Civ.* ii. 8. 2, *hinc* (ex turri) *propugnabant, hinc procurrebant.* **ingredi prohibebant**, see ii. 4. 2 *n.*

7. **legio septima**, iv. 32. 1 *n.* **testudine facta**, Intr., § 15. 5. **aggere**, 'earth work.' **adiecto** (ii. 12. 5, *iacto*), to enable the besiegers to shoot and climb over the *munitiones.*

8. **eos**, the men of the 7th legion. **fugientes**, the enemy. **prosequi**, 'pursue,' usually 'accompany,' cp. ii. 11. 4. *Close* pursuit is implied.

10.—1. **postridie eius diei**, i. 23. 1 *n.* **milites**, 'infantry,' as c. 7. 4. **expeditio**, '*est iter adversus hostem a militibus expeditis suscipiendum*,' Schneider.

2, 3. **extremi**, the last of the troops sent [not the rear of the enemy], so that the clause is an amplification of *his aliq. itineris progressis.* **in litore** (Verg. *Aen.* 4. 373, *eiectum litore*), not *in litus.* **subsisterent**, 'held firm.' Caesar uses the impf., not pluperf., as in direct speech *subsistebant* and *poterant* (viz., during the storm) would have stood; see note on *sublevarent*, i. 40. 5. **eo concursu**, 'the collision which ensued.'

11.—1. **revocari...iubet.** They were to fight as they retreated.

2. **sic** refers to the whole of the first part of the sentence, not merely to *perspicit.* **amissis**, concessive, 'though about 40 ships,' etc.

3. These *fabri* are not the special corps of engineers (as they belonged to no legion, see Intr. § 22), but soldiers in the legions who happened also to be skilled workmen. **ex continenti**, iv. 31. 2.

4. **posset, instituat**, see iii. 11. 5. **iis legionibus**, i. 8. 1. *Quae* **sunt** *apud eum*, should be *sint*, as the relative sentence is not here an addition of the writer [see vi. 10. 5 *n.*], but of necessity dependent on *scribit.* The same anomaly occurs iii. 8. 4; vii. 78. 1.

5. **multae operae ac laboris**, 'involving much trouble and toil.'

6. **ad** gives the aim = 'even the hours of night being turned to account for the completion of the work,' see c. 40. 5. Contrast vii. 24. 2, and *Bell. Civ.* i. 32. 1, *ut reliquum tempus a labore intermitteretur.*

8. **summa belli**, 'chief command,' further defined by the more general and comprehensive *belli que administrandi* = 'and entire charge of the war.' Contrast the order of words in § 9. **fl. quod**, contrast i. 38. 1, *Vesontio, quod est oppidum.*

12.—1. **natos in insula** = *indigenas*, *αὐτόχθονας*. So of the Gauls, vii. 18. 1, and Germans, Tac. *Germ.* 2, *ipsos Germanos indigenas crediderim*, cp. *Agric.* 11, *ceterum Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerint, indigenae an advecti, ut inter barbaros param compertum.* **ipsi...dicunt**: just so the Gauls *se omnis ab Dite patre prognatos praedicant*, vi. 18. 1. **memoria**, 'oral tradition'; Cic. *Verr.* 1. 18. 47, *quod est proditum memoria ac litteris* = 'what we have heard and read.' The usual phrase, *memoriae tradere*, differs in meaning. **praedae ac b. i. causa**, iv. 14. 2. *n.*

2. **quibus ex civitatibus,** as if *earum nominibus civitatum* had preceded. Thus we find in Britain, *e.g.*, *Belgae* and *Atrebates.* **illato,** we should expect some such word as *confecto* (ii. 29. 5, *pace facta...locum delegerunt*). We must join closely with the preceding clause: 'they wage war, and when they have waged it,' etc.; cp. *Bell. Civ.* i. 41. 2, *facit pugnandi potestatem; potestate facta Afranius copias educit.*

3. **consimilia,** ii. 11. 1. Caesar has left but short accounts of the dwellings of the Gauls, c. 43. 1; vi. 30. 3.

4. **nummo aureo:** gold coin was, as discoveries show, coined in Britain before Caesar's time; whereas the silver and copper coinage was much later, so that Caesar's information as to iron bars being used for small coins is quite credible. Mommsen, *Hist. of the Roman Monetary System*, p. 683. **aut...aut,** 'sometimes...at other times,' 'indifferently,' cp. Frontin. (*Strat.*), ii. 5. 12, *aut cepit eos aut trucidavit.* **taleis ferreis,** 'iron bars'; just so the Greek ὀβολός was originally a small ὀβελός (spit) of iron or copper.

5. **plumbum album,** 'tin,' in which from the earliest times, it was formerly thought, Britain had driven a trade with the Phoenicians. The 'inland districts' must be the modern Cornwall. **maritimis,** *e.g.*, Sussex. **cuiusque generis:** only in this connexion is *quisque*=*omnes* in good writers, elsewhere='each separate one.'

6. **animi voluptatisque causa:** the word *animi*, by itself sufficient (vii. 77. 10), is further defined by *voluptatisque.* **rem. frigoribus** (abl. abs.), here not='frosts,' but simply 'cold climate.' For the plural cp. the Greek ψύχη and θάλπη (used beside ψῦχος and θάλπος), and Tac. *Agr.* 12, *asperitas frigorum abest.*

13.—1. **triquetra,** Diod. Sic. 5. 21, τῷ σχήματι τρίγωνος οὖσα παραπλησίως τῇ Σικελίᾳ τὰς πλευρὰς οὐκ ἰσοκώλους ἔχει. **omnes ex G. naves,** iv. 33. 1 *n.* **inferior** answers the preceding *alter.*

2. **pertinet,** 'stretches' in this S.W. direction, vi. 10. 5, *longe introrsus pertinere.* **pari spatio tr.,** 'of a like distance of passage (from there to Britain) with that from Gaul to Britain (c. 2. 3). **transmissus,** genitive after *pari spatio* (abl. of quality).

3. **medio cursu**=*in medio transmissu* or *traiectu*, *i.e.*, half way across; of course an incorrect description of the position' of Anglesey (=*Mona*). **subiectae,** 'lying near'; *Bell. Alex.* 35. 2, *quod facilius Armeniam defendere posset subiectam*

regno suo, quam Cappadociam longius remotam. So *subesse:* i. 25. 5 ; v. 29. 3. **de quibus** stands as *de colloquio*, i. 42. 1 *n.*, and the object of *scripserunt* is *esse noctem :* Cic. *Verr.* 4. 18. 38, *de hoc* (Diodoro) *Verri dicitur, habere eum perbona toreumata.* **nonnulli,** *e.g.*, Greek authors, or possibly Pytheas of Marseilles, quoted by Pliny, *N. H.* 2. 77, who adds, about the long continuance of night, *quidam vero et in Mona...affirmant.* **bruma** (*brevuma=brevissuma*, sc. *dies*), the winter solstice.

4. **nisi videbamus,** Cic. *Fam.* 13. 73. 2, *de re nihil possum iudicare, nisi illud mihi persuadeo.* The sense is : We found none of those statements verified, but we did find one variation from the phenomena on the continent, viz., **breviores esse noctes,** *i.e.*, in summer, at which season Caesar's visit took place. Plin. *Nat. H.* ii. 75. 77, *sic fit ut longissimus dies horas colligat...in Italia* xv., *in Britannia* xvii. (on the N. coast of Scotland more than 18 hours). Tac. *Agr.* 12, *dierum spatia ultra nostri orbis mensuram, nox clara et extremā Britanniae parte brevis, ut finem atque initium lucis exiguo discrimine internoscas.* **ex aqua,** from its place in the sentence gains the force of an adjective, iv. 33. 1 *n.* The water-clock was called *clepsydra.* Caesar's stay was so short that he was able to give but a meagre account of the size, shape, and position of Britain; and Tac. *Agr.* 10. 24 is no more correct.

14.—1. **his,** 'the inhabitants of this island,' as i. 1. 15, *eorum.* **humanissimi,** i. 1. 3. **Gallorum consuetudo** is described vi. 11-20 ; Tac., *Agr.* 11, says of the southern Britons, *proximi Gallis et similes sunt ; seu durante originis vi, seu procurrentibus in diversa terris positio caeli corporibus habitum dedit. In universum tamen aestimanti Gallos vicinam insulam occupasse credibile est. Eorum sacra deprehendas, superstitionem persuasiones ; sermo haud multum diversus ; in deposcendis periculis eadem audacia et, ubi advenere, in detrectandis eadum, formido ; plus tamen ferociae Britanni praeferunt, ut quos nondum pax emollierit.*

2. **interiores non serunt.** We may see from iv. 31. 2, 32. 1, that the southern Britons practised agriculture. **vitrum,** 'woad' (also called *glastum*, *ἰσάτις* and *isatis tinctoria*), producing an indigo-blue colour.

4. **deni duodenique,** 'ten, and *in other cases* twelve,' where we say 'ten or twelve' : iii. 15. 1, *binae ac ternae ;* Xenoph. *Anab.* iv. 8. 21, *τρίτῃ δὲ καὶ τετάρτῃ ἀνίσταντο.* One wife would not serve for 10 or 12, but that number of husbands exchanged wives mutually.

5. **quo**=*ad quos*. **deducta**, the regular word for the ceremonious conducting of the bride from her parents' house to her new home.

15.—1. These **equites** were 'cavalry' and not a kind of charioteers (iv. 24. 1, *quo plerumque genere...uti consuerunt*); cf. iv. 32. 5, *equitatu et essedariis;* v. 9. 3, *equitatu atque essedis.* **tamen ut**=*ita tamen, ut.*

4. **atque his primis**, 'and these the first cohorts,' which contained the flower of the legions, Intr., § 13, note 3. **novo genere.** These cohorts cannot, then, have taken part in the first expedition. **inter se**, construe with *intermisso.*

16.—1. **nostros**, *legionarios milites;* cp. below, *equites autem.* **sub oculis**=*in conspectu.* **neque auderent**, being accustomed to fight in close array.

2. For the mode of fighting cp. iv. 33. 1.

3. The position of **equestris**, as also of **autem**, shows that these words are opposed to **ex essedis desilirent et pedibus... contenderent.**

4. **rari**, c. 9. 6. The **que** of *integrique* means 'and *in consequence*,' as *exanimati-que*, iii. 19. 1.

17.—1. **lenius**, 'less eagerly,' contrasted with the *acriter conflixerunt* (c. 15. 1) of the day before.

2. **sicubi**, 'whenever they left the ranks' [omitting the *non*, see Crit. App.], for they did not venture to attack the legions themselves. For *absistere*, cp. Liv. 27. 45. 11, *nec absistere ab signis nec subsistere.* [But there also the text is doubtful.]

3. **reppulerunt**, sc. *eos;* see i. 6. 3 *n.* **sequendi**, not *insequendi*, as they were no longer in flight, which had ceased when the cavalry *praecipites egerunt* (for which see note on iv. 12. 2).

4. **sui colligendi**, see iii. 6. 1 *n.* **aut** after *neque* is more emphatic than a second *neque* would have been.

5. **summis copiis**, 'their whole combined forces.'

18.—1. **consilio**, the plan described in c. 19. 1. **fines Cassiv.**, across the Thames, in what is now Middlesex and Buckinghamshire. The river must have been crossed between Kingston and Brentford.

2, 3. **animum advertit**, see i. 24. 1 *n.* **praefixis**, driven into the bank, as opposed to those *sub aqua defixis*, which were driven into the bottom. **tegebantur**, for the tense see note on *muniebatur*, i. 38. 4.

5. **sed**, '*celeritatem, quam praestabant milites, opponit ei, quam C. confestim eos subsequi iubens postulaverat,*' Schneider. **ripas** (i. 37. 3 *n.*) **dimittere**, to give up the bank, from which they had hoped to drive away the enemy. [In spite of the staking, the crossing certainly took place at the spot mentioned in § 1, which is expressly described as the only ford. Their overcoming every hindrance is a proof of the bravery of his soldiers. The words *cum* (although) *capite solo ex aqua exstarent* answer *atque hoc aegre transiri poterat.*]

19.—1. **ut supra dem.**, to be taken with *omni deposita spe contentionis*, and referring to c. 17. 5. **servabat** = *observabat.* **impeditis**, 'inaccessible,' vi. 8. 4. The opposite expression *locus expeditus* occurs *Bell. Civ.* i. 27. 6.

2. **cum eiecerat...emittebat**, iii. 4. 2 *n.*; 14. 6 *n.* **hoc metu** = 'fear *of this.*' The idiom is fairly common in Latin, c. 4. 4, *hoc dolore* = 'resentment *at this*'; iii. 13. 6, *is usus;* iv. 6. 4, *qua spe;* vii. 26. 5, *quo timore* [Liv. ii. 21. 1. 2, *hac ira,* = 'in anger at this'; cp. Wagner on Verg. *Aen.* ii. 171, *ea signa*, 'the signs thereof.'] Similar are *quo in numero*, iii. 27. 1; *eius fugae*, i. 18. 10.

3. **relinquebatur**, *i.e.*, Caesar's *one* course was, etc. **in** often serves to express the thing wherein (or, the circumstancs under which) something takes place. Cic. *de Off.* ii. 18. 63, *eamque iniuriam in deterrenda liberalitate sibi fieri putant.* **tantum quantum**, see iv. 35. 3 *n.*

20.—1, 2. **firmissima**, note on i. 3. 8. **earum regionum**, which had combined under Cass.; see end of c. 11. **fidem secutus**, iv. 21. 8 *n.* **ipse vitaverat**, 'while he himself.' The Latin omits the connecting particle by *asyndeton*, making the clause independent. **sese dedituros**, *se* is omitted, as ii. 3. 2 *n.*

3. **qui**, sc. Mandubracius. **imperium** is added, as **praesit** by itself would not exclude the idea of Cassiv.'s overlordship (*legionibus praeerant*, c. 22. 1). Now that their general-in-chief was no longer trusted he came to be attacked by hate and jealousy; and as soon as it was clear that the new enemy could not be withstood, he was utilized as a means of taking vengeance on their former (c. 11. 9) foe.

4. **ad numerum**, 'to the stated number'; so *ad tempus*, 'by the *appointed* time.'

21.—1, 2. **defensis**, 'taken under his protection' against Cass., cp. c. 22. 5. **prohibitis**, 'protected,' as vi. 23. 9. **eo loco**, *ubi constituerat Caesar.* **oppidum Cass.** = site of Verulamium (*St. Alban's*).

3. **oppidum Brit. vocant**, as opposed to the Kelts on the continent who built real 'towns,' *i.e.*, permanent fortified villages.

22.—1. **supra**, viz., c. 14. 1. **castra navalia**, see c. 11. 5.

2. **ii cum venissent.** The subject is placed as at iv. 11. 1, *Caesar cum abesset.*

3. **Commius**, cp. iv. 21. 6. **legatos mittit per C.**, inasmuch as Commius' intercession enabled Cassivellaunus to send the embassy.

4. **propter rep. G. motus**, so iii. 8. 3, *ut sunt Gallorum subita et repentina consilia.* **id** (*i.e.*, *non multum aestatis*) **extrahi**, 'could easily be spun out'; so *Bell. Civ.*, i. 32. 3, *dicendi mora dies extrahente.* He was eager to leave Britain before the winter weather came on.

5. **interdicit a. imperat** = 'he expressly forbids.' But in c. 58. 4, *praecipit atque interdicit*, each verb has its own force.

23.—2. **commeatibus**, 'in two crossings.'

3. **ac sic**, *i.e.*, to crown the whole. **quae...portaret**, 'such as is used for transport.' On the subj. see Roby, § 1692.

4. **et prioris...et quas.** The word *re-mitterentur* is inaccurately used of the second class of ships, those namely which Labienus had had built. **postea**, after Caesar's crossing, and by his orders sent from Britain (c. 11. 4). **locum capere**, 'to make the place appointed,' as iv. 26. 5.

5. **tempore**, abl. instrument. **quod aequinoctium suberat**, see iv. 36. 2. Caesar returned to Gaul at the end of September, after a stay of nearly three months, as he seems to have come to Britain at the beginning of July; as on July 27, Cicero (*ad Attic.* iv. 15. 10) writes, *ex Quinti fratris litteris suspicor iam eum esse in Britannia.* On September 26 he was on the point of leaving Britain (*ad Att.* iv. 17. 3), *Ab Quinto fratre et a Caesare accepi litteras, datas a littoribus Britanniae*

proximo a. d. vi. *Kal. Oct.; confecta Britannia, obsidibus acceptis, nulla praeda, imperata tamen pecunia, exercitum Britannia reportabant.* **suberat,** 'was close at hand'; so *mons suberat*, i. 25. 5; *subesse Rhenum*, v. 29. 3. **necessario angustius,** 'necessarily in rather close quarters'; cp. vii. 16. 3.

24.—1. **concilio,** c. 2. 4. **siccitates,** pl., as *frigora*, c. 12. 6. **angustius,** 'somewhat scantily'; *Bell. Civ.* iii. 16. 1, *rem frumentariam qua anguste utebatur.*

2. **Q. Cicero,** brother of M. Tullius Cicero. He remained from B.C. 54 to the end of 52 as *legatus* with Caesar, to whom he served as a kind of pledge of his brother's conduct. Cic. *ad Quint.* iii. 8. 1, *non enim commoda quaedam sequebamur parva ac mediocria. Quid enim erat, quod discessu nostro emendum putaremus? Praesidium firmissimum petebamus ex optimi et potentissimi viri benevolentia ad omnem statum nostrae dignitatis.* Writing to Atticus (*ad Att.* iv. 18. 3) he praises the considerate treatment which his brother received at Caesar's hands, which is also evident in Caesar's own account: see 40. 7; vi. 42. 1.

3. **Bellovacis,** see Crit. App. **quaestorem,** see i. 52. 1 *n.*

4. **unam legionem,** see Intr. p. xxvii., as to the then state of the army. **in Eburones,** to Aduatuca, cp. vi. 32. 3; 37. 8. **quorum...qui,** see i. 1. 4 *n.*

7. **tamen,** *i.e.*, although the troops appeared to be distant from each other. **milibus centum** No camp was more than 100,000 paces from another. [The statement does not agree with facts; see on these words Heller, *Philol.* xxii. p. 156 *f.*; v. Göler, i. p. 168 *f.*; Napoleon, ii. 194.]

25.—3. **hunc,** *Tasgetium;* see i. 10. 5 *n.* **inimici,** private enemies, instigated by his political opponents: hence the words of § 4, *quod ad plures pertinebat.* Tasgetius was slain, and Cavarinus (among the Senones, c. 54. 2) driven out by the nationalists, who did not wish to become dependent on Rome.

4. **quod** (*ea res*) **ad plures pert.,** as the matter concerned many; cp. vii. 43. 3. If the murder had merely come from the private enemies, Caesar would have had no such need of fear. **cum legione,** that one of the three legions (mentioned c. 24. 2) which he commanded.

26.—1. **diebus quibus**, see iii. 23. 2; iv. 18. 1. **initium ortum est.** This pleonastic phrase is found twice in the *Bell. Civ.*, in Livy (24. 47. 7) and Cicero (*pro Cluent.* 64. 180); cp. *initium nascitur*, once in book viii., once in the *Bell. Civ.*, and Liv. 9. 40. 16.

2. **praesto fuissent**, 'had met.' **oppugnatum**, supine, the object being *castra.* Sallust. *Cat.* 28. 1, *constituere ea nocte ...sicuti salutatum introire ad Ciceronem;* Corn. Nepos *Eum.* 6. 1, *utrum repetitum in Macedoniam venirent*, sc. *Macedoniam;* Cic. *ad Att.* ii. 8. 1, *Curionem venisse ad me salutatum.*

3, 4. **desperata re**, see iii. 3. 3 *n.* **hostes suos reduxerunt**, i. 51. 2 *n.* **minui posse sperarent**, see i. 3. 8 *n.*

27.—1. **Iunius ex Hispania quidam**, an expression like *ex essedis pugna*, iv. 33. 1 *n.* **missu**, many verbal substantives only (or chiefly) occur in the abl.; so we find *iussu, iniussu, vocatu, coactu.* **apud**, always in Caesar = 'before an assembly'; so *apud milites, apud cunctum exercitum;* cp. *apud iudices.*

2. **ei** [= *sibi*] **remissi essent**, i. 6. 3, 11. 3 *n.* **in servitute et catenis**, see i. 31. 12.

3. **de**, see notes on c. 53. 4, i. 19. 5. **sua**, namely of Ambiorix, not of the Eburonic chiefs, or of Amb. and Catuvolcus. **imperia**, the plural expresses the various acts wherein the power would be displayed, and occurs at i. 31. 13.

4. **porro**, 'furthermore'; passing to the second point, viz., the excusing of the state now that he has excused his own conduct.

5. **alterae**, older form of *alteri.* Caesar has the dat. *nullo*, vi. 13. 1; *toto*, vii. 89. 5. Cp. Ter. *Phorm.* 928, *alterae; Eun.* 1004, *solae;* and Brix on Plaut. *Mil. Glor.* 356; Roby, § 372.

7. **pietas**, 'patriotism.' **pro**, 'on the score of'; so *pro hospitio, pro beneficiis.* **officium**, 'the duty' of gratitude. **monere, orare**, the asyndeton to mark the (assumed) eagerness of the pleading.

8. **conductam**, 'hired'; supply *mercede*, as at ii. 1. 4; cp. c. 55. 2; i. 31. 4, *Germani mercede arcesserentur;* and vi. 2. 1; cp. vii. 31. 5 *n.*

9. **ipsorum esse consilium.** The decision lay in their own (the Romans') hands, 'it was for them to reflect whether,' etc.

11. **hibernis**, 'from (the burden of) winter quarters.' In this way *levari* is used with *onere*, *aere alieno*, *metu*, and like ablatives in the sense of *liberari;* Liv. xxi. 26. 7, *levarique...regionem suam tantā hominum urgente turbā cupiebant.* [N.B.—The tenses here, as in i. 14 and i. 31, in the *oratio obliqua* dependent on *locutus est*, vary, being nearly all principal.]

28.—1. **bellum populo R. facere**, see iii. 29. 3 *n.* **sua sponte**, i. 9. 3 *n.* **vix erat credendum**, 'it was scarcely credible.' The gerunds and gerundive often have the sense of possibility, not of necessity or obligation, after negatives or *vix*.

3. **primorum ordinum cent.**, i. 41. 3; Intr., § 48. 3, § 42 *n.*

4. **rem**, 'the state of the case,' 'the fact.' **ultro**, 'going so far as to inflict wounds'; the word (connected with *olle*=*ille*) is used of something *further* than you would expect, or than the occasion warrants. Sidgwick on Verg. *Aen.* 2. 193. So *Bell. Civ.* ii. 2. 6, *quae facile nostri repellebant milites magnisque ultro illatis detrimentis reiciebant.*

5. **re frumentaria**, abl. of respect. But *Bell. Civ.* iii. 15. 3, *summis angustiis rerum necessariarum premi*, the ablative is instrumental.

29.—1. **contra ea**, a rare usage for the simple *contra;* as at Liv. ii. 60. 1. **sero**, 'when too late.' **clamitabat**, the intensive form, marks the impetuousness of T. as opposed to the calm deliberation of the rest: *docebant*, c. 28. 4.

2. **Caesarem...in Italiam**, as against Cotta's expressed hope, c. 25. 3. With **arbitrari** and, § 3, **spectare** supply *se*. **Carnutes**, c. 25. 3. **contemptione nostri**, iv. 28. 2. **venturos esse** = direct *venirent*, as above *fuisse capturos* = *cepissent.* Madv., § 409 *obs.*

3. **Ariovisti mortem**, not mentioned in i. 53. But brought up, as it here is, as a ground of the rising against the Romans, it must have taken place soon after the battle, and in consequence of the same. Such references to previous events not hitherto mentioned are not uncommon in Caesar.

5. **quis sibi persuaderet**, i. 43. 8, *quis pati posset*, note. **sine certa re**, 'unless on sure grounds.' **descendisse**, 'to have had recourse'; often used of a *last* resource, iii. 9. 3, *ad extremum auxilium descenderunt;* vi. 16. 5, *etiam ad innocentium supplicia descendunt.*

6. **tutam,** 'free from danger.' **si nihil esset durius,** i. 48. 6 *n.*

7. **habere,** 'involve,' not = *habiturum esse;* but the plan and its consequences are so intimately connected, that the latter may be regarded as present so soon as the former is tried.

30.—1. **primis ordinibus** = the centurions of the front ranks, cp. 28. 3; vi. 7. 8; Intr., § 20, note 3. **vincite,** 'have your own way'; Ovid. *Met.*, 8. 509, *male vincetis, sed vincite fratres.* **inquit...Sabinus,** the same order of words occurs vii. 20. 12. **exaudire,** 'hear *distinctly.*'

2. **hi,** the soldiers, whom he is trying to win over. **neque is...terrear,** 'and I am not the man to be (consecutive subj.) frightened more than you all.' **abs te r. rep.,** a threat. **liceat, sustineant.** The present regards this alternative as still possible.

3. **non,** '*and* not'; so always (never *neque*) when a positive assertion is followed immediately by the negation of its contrary, i. 14. 7, *obsides accipere, non dare;* vi. 4. 3, *tempus instantis belli, non quaestionis.* **reiecti,** 'banished,' followed by the more techical *relegati.* These words blame not Caesar, but Cotta, whose opposition according to T.'s ideas prevented their saving themselves.

31.—1. **comprehendunt** = *prensant,* seize them by the hand in talking to them.

3. **dat manus,** 'gives in,' from the signal used in asking for quarter on the field of battle; cp. Reid on Cic. *Lael.* 26. 99, *atque ad extremum det manus vincique se patiatur.*

4. **instrumento,** 'furniture,' collective noun.

5. **omnia excogitantur...augeatur,** 'all kinds of reasons are discovered why it would be unsafe to remain, and how the danger would be increased by the fatigue and protracted watching of the troops.' These words, out of place here, perhaps originally stood in § 3 after *perducitur,* being urged by Sabinus and his party at the council of war.

6. Caesar had himself adopted this order of march (ii. 17. 2), but not when the enemy was near. The sequel is to be seen c. 33. 3, *cum propter longitudinem agminis,* etc., Intr. § 14. 1. [In this chapter Caesar, by the way in which he tells the story, depicts the quick succession of the several events and the excitement.]

32.—1. **de**, i. 19. 5 *n.* **a milibus**, etc., ii. 7. 3 *n.* **Romanorum**, one of the few places in which Caesar introduces *Romani* in his own words, usually only where he is reporting the speech of others, cp. iii. 24. 4; iv. 24. 1.

2. **convallis** in Caesar only here and iii. 20. 4, =*vallis*. Against the tr. 'basin,' Liv. i. 12. 10 appears decisive, *in media convalle d u o r u m montium.*

33.—1. **qui providisset**, '*in that* he had exercised no foresight,' *qui*, causal, answering to *qui cogitasset*, § 2. It was *because* he had not done so that he had now to do what ought to have been already done. **viderentur**, as ii. 28. 3, 'were seen,' not 'seemed.' **omnia**, such as courage, presence of mind, circumspection, and the like.

2. '**auctor** is the *backer* or *supporter* rather than the author, though sometimes the two things are the same' (Sidgwick on Verg. *Aen.* ii. 150); cp. iii. 17. 3, *quod auctores belli esse nolebant.* **imperatoris...militis**, Sall. *Cat.* 60. 4, *strenui militis et boni imperatoris officia simul exsequebatur;* Tac. *Hist.* iii. 17, *nullum in illa trepidatione Antōnius constantis ducis aut fortissimi militis officium omisit.*

3. **obire**=*administrare*, only here in Caesar. **pronuntiare**, so *munire iubet*, ii. 5. 6 *n.*, cp. 34. 1 [contrast *pronuntiari*, 34. 3, 51. 3]. The tribunes and centurions must be supplied as the subject. **orbem**, cp. iv. 37. 2, *orbe facto;* Intr., § 15. 6.

6. **vulgo**, 'on all sides,' i. 39. 5. On the unusual coupling of the sentences see Roby, §§ 2201-3.

34.—1. **illorum, illis**, see i. 44. 11 *n.* **reliquissent**=fut. perf. **existimarent**=imperative (or hortative conjunctive) of direct speech, Madv., § 404.

2. **studio**, 'eager desire.' **pares**, 'their match.' **tametsi ...tamen**, i. 30. 2 *n.* **quotiens p. cadebat**, as c. 35. 1, *cum excesserat...refugiebant*, see also iii. 4. 2, 14. 6; iv. 26. 2.

3. **neu...et**, see ii. 21. 2 *n.*

4. **levitate, exercit.**, causal ablatives, 'owing to the lightness...and their daily exercise,' etc. Cp. note on *continuatione*, iii. 29. 2. **rursus**, as c. 35. 3.

35.—1. **cum excesserat, refugiebant.** See 34. 2 *n.*

2. At that part of the square where the sally was made, a gap would leave the soldiers next the sallying cohorts exposed to the enemy's missiles. Cp. i. 25. 6 *n.*

3. **proximi**, that is, the enemy next on either side of the sallying cohorts.

4. **locum t. vellent** = not to stir from the *orbis*.

5. The 8th hour would at this season roughly = our 2-3 P.M.

6. **primum pilum**, Intr. § 20, note 1. **duxerat.** It seems that he had served out his time, and had stayed on with the legion as *emeritus*.

7. **eiusdem ordinis**, *i.e.*, also *primipilus*. Note the attirbutive use of the gen. ; cp. i. 18. 3 *n*.

36.—1. **Cn. Pompeius.** Nipperdey not improbably suggests that he was father of the historian Pompeius Trogus, whose work is preserved in the compilation of Justinus (Teuffel's *History of Roman Literature*, § 253).

2. For the extent of his authority cp. c. 27. 3 He could not act alone, and he would be glad to exaggerate his own irresponsibility.

3. **sperare** is followed by *posse*, it having no fut. inf.; cp. i. 3. 8. **ut**, 'suggesting that'; see iii. 5. 3 *n*. **de sua** (*Titurii et Cottae*). **salute imp.** See notes on i. 42. 1 ; iv. 13. 5.

37.—3. Liv. v. 37. 8, *nata in vanos tumultus gens* (Gallorum) *truci cantu clamoribusque variis horrendo cuncta compleverant sono.*

6. **illi** = *reliqui, qui in castra se receperant.* **ad unum omnes**, iv. 15. 3. **se i. interficiunt.** In classical Latin *se interficit* is never, *se ipse interficit* (Cic. *Fam.* 4. 12. 2) seldom found. The usual phrase occurs i. 4. 4.

7. The annihilation of these 15 cohorts is (with the failure before Gergovia, vii. 44-51) the severest blow inflicted on Caesar during the whole war, and he in consequence followed up the Eburones and Ambiorix with unrelenting hatred ; cp. vi. 34. 8; Suet., *Caes.* 67, tells us, *diligebat usque adeo* (milites), *ut audita clade Tituriana barbam capillumque summiserit, nec ante dempserit, quam vindicasset.*

38.—1. **in Aduatucos**, see ii. 33. 6 *n*. **noctem** gets its emphatic position from the fact that the march *began* at night, unlike i. 38. 7 *n*. **noctem**, object of *intermittit*, not acc. of time ; cp. 11. 6, *nocturnis temporibus intermissis;* cp. 40. 5 ; vii. 24. 2 ; *Bell. Civ.* i. 32. 1, *ut reliquum tempus a labore intermitteretur.*

2. **in Nervios**, ii. 28. 2. **sui liberandi**, iii. 6. 1.

39.—1. Cicero's winter quarters (c. 24. 2) lay south of Brussels towards the Sambre, but as to their exact position opinions are divided. Von Göler (i. p. 186) places them at *Namur*, Köchly and Rüstow (Intr. p. 129) at *Berlaimont*, Napoleon (*Hist.* ii. 207) at *Charleroy*, Creuly at *Gembloux*, Heller (*Philol.* xxii. 155) on the Dyle above Wavre.

2. **quoque**=as well as to Titurius and Cotta. **qui discessissent**, causal. **munitionis**, *i.e.*, to get the necessary material for completing the fortifications (c. 40. 2).

3. **atque** joins the second part of the clause, *horum omnium socii et clientes*, with the first part, *Eburones, Nervii, Aduatuci.*

4. **is dies**=the day and what happened on it, viz., the siege (c. 37. 6); cp. viii. 39. 3, *quam* (aestatem) *si sustinere potuissent.* Contrast ii. 6. 1, *aegre eo die sustentatum est.* **adepti**, '*if* they once gained'; the word properly belongs to the dependent clause=*se, adeptos, fore*, but is attached to the chief sentence.

40.—1. **pertulissent.** A subject *ii per quos mittuntur* is easily supplied from *mittuntur literae.* **per-**=to their destination. For the plupf. subj. after the historic present cp. i. 44. 13, and vi. 17. 3 *n.* **missi**, 'those who were sent'; so Liv. xxiv. 25. 11, *missi a praetoribus Damaratam interfecerunt.*

2. **admodum**, 'quite,' 'at least.' These *turres* were but low covered towers on the top of the wall.

4, 5. **deinceps**, from its position, gains the force of an adj., iii. 29. 1. **ad laborem intermittitur**, c. 11. 6.

6. **praeustae**, 'burnt to a point' (the fire making the wood hard), to act as spears. Tac. *Ann.* iv. 51, *barbari in vallum manualia saxa, praeustas sudes, decisa robora iacere.* **pila muralia**, Intr. § 4; vii. 82. 1; Curt. viii. 38, *pila quoque muralia et excussas tormentis praegraves hastas.* **contabulantur**, 'are boarded over,' so that the soldiers could fight from them; the *excitatae turres* were therefore not completely ready before the night. [We must not think of any joining of the towers together by beams or planks.] **pinnae**, 'battlements' of wood, behind which the soldier retired for protection when he had thrown his missile. As there had not been time to build them properly they are hastily made of wicker work. **loricae**, 'breast works' on the walls and ramparts. **ex**, to designate the *material* of which a thing is made, as *fusili ex argilla glandes*, c. 43. 1; *ex grandibus saxis murum*, vii. 46. 3. On the attributive

connection of the words *ex cratibus* cp. iv. 33. 1 *n.* [Schneider takes the view that *attexuntur* means *ad turres*, not as vii. 72. 4, *ad vallum.*]

7. **cum**, 'although.' **ultro** (c. 28. 4), lit. 'beyond' what Cicero wished, perhaps 'without consulting him.' Throughout this account Caesar thoroughly recognises Cicero's good behaviour, not altogether perhaps without thinking of his brother Marcus: cp. vi. 42. 1 *n.* The *Asyndeton* in this chapter brings out the hurry and haste with which the various events followed each other.

41.—1. **aditum** includes the ideas of opportunity and permission; like *facultas* (*Bell. Civ.* i. 74. 1, *nacti colloquiorum facultatem*).

4. **de**, 'they also tell him about,' with transitive verb, as *cognoscere* (or *impetrare*) *de*, i. 42. 1 *n.* Cotta also had fallen, but in battle; the death of Sabinus (and especially the mode of that death) was the decisive event (c. 37. 3), and is therefore brought into prominence both here and ch. 39. 1. **Ambiorigem ostentant.** His presence (1) would not be possible if the Romans had not been entirely worsted; (2) seeing his former friendship for Caesar (c. 27. 2), would show how universal the rising was.

5. **qui...diffidant**, as being themselves in like manner attacked. **inveterascere.** The Belgae thought just the same, ii. 1. 3.

6. **per se** goes with *licere.* **incolumibus**, for the attraction cp. Roby, § 1357.

7. **modo**, 'only,' very rarely added to *unus* or indeed to numerals at all, cp. i. 9. 1; iii. 17. 5 *n.*

8. **iustitia**, 'fairness,' 'sense of what was right.'

42.—1. **spe**, viz., to entrap him as they had Titurius. **pedum ix.**, in height. **pedum xv.**, in breadth: see ii. 5. 6 *n.*

3. **nulla copia**, abl. abs. *Bell. Civ.* iii. 101. 2, *perturbatum eum nactus n u l l i s c u s t o d i i s neque o r d i n i b u s c e r t i s.* **ferramenta**, iron shovels and the like. **quae esset**, 'of such a kind as to be'; for other *ferramenta* they certainly had. **exhaurire** strictly suits only *manibus*, but is (by zeugma) joined with *sagulis* also. The full expression occurs Orosius vi. 10, *gladiis concidendo terram et sagulis deportando.*

5. **valli**, of the Roman rampart, in order to be able to throw

over it into Cicero's camp. **falces**, iii. 14. 5. **testudines**, Intr. § 31. 2. [**mil. passuum xv.** This must be wrong, *pedum* perhaps should be read, *p* only occurring in mss.]

43.—1. **ferventes glandes**, red-hot balls of clay, which kept enough of their heat to set fire to straw (v. Göler, i. p. 191; Köchly and Rüstow, p. 100). **ex**, c. 40. 6 *n.* **argilla.** These words qualify *glandes* as an attribute; see note on iv. 33. 1, *ex essedis pugna.* **fervefacta**, made red-hot, or wrapped round with flaming material. **casae** were the strongly built winter-huts, *hibernacula*, made of timber, cased in hides, and roofed in with straw. Intr. § 29. 6.

2. **distulerunt**, 'spread,' *i.e.*, by their being so inflammable spread the fire. With *hae* (casae) *ignem comprehenderunt* cp. *Bell. Civ.* iii. 101. 5, *flamma ab utroque cornu comprehensa*, but at viii. 43. 3, *opera flamma comprehensa.*

3. **maximo clamore**, see 37. 3 *n.* **sicuti**, 'just as if'; *tamquam* or *quasi* would be more usual. Sall. *Cat.* 28. 1, *sicuti salutatum introire;* so *ut*, iii. 18. 8.

4. **demigrandi**, 'leaving his post'; not pleonastic, as one might from other reasons *de vallo decedere.* **tum**, even in such a dangerous position.

5. **ut se C.**, 'as they had massed themselves together *close* under the rampart (*sub ipso vallo*).' **ut**, from being an adverb of manner comes to have a certain *causal* force; cp. i. 22. 3, *Labienus, ut erat ei praeceptum a Caesare ne proelium committeret,...proelio abstinebat.* **que...non**, not *neque*, cp. iii. 29. 2 *n.*

6. **turri** (of the enemy), abl. **valli**, of the Romans. **vocare**, 'invite.' **quorum**, '*but* of these.'

7. **deturbati**, *sunt.*

44.—1. **qui appropinquarent**: the conjunctive is like *quae esset*, c. 42. 3.

2. **quinam**=*uter;* as *Bell. Civ.* i. 66. 4, *qui prior occupaverit:* so Xen. (*Cyr.* i. 3. 17) has τίς for πότερος. **annis**, viz., of their military service, and not merely since they were centurions. **locis**, plural, because not limited merely to *primus ordo*, which every centurion naturally coveted; Intr. § 20.

4. **irrumpit**, 'makes his attack'; for the following words *mediocri spatio relicto pilum in hostes immittit* show that *irrumpere* cannot here mean 'bursts in upon the foe.'

6. **relicto**, viz., between Pulio and the enemy, so that he could throw his *pilum* with effect. **quo percusso...hunc**, see iv. 21. 6.

8. A Roman soldier wore his sword on his right side; Intr. § 4 *b*.

13. **rursus**, 'in his turn.'

14. **versavit**, lit. 'turned round.'

45.—1. **et maxime** = *et maxime quidem*, as c. 14. 4; i. 47. 2, *et eo magis*. **litterae**, 'despatches'; as Caesar often uses *litterae*, cp. Cic. *Att.* 9. 5, *plures litteras*.

2. **unus**, 'one only.' The fact that there was one at all was a fact extraordinary enough to be emphasized.

4. **illigatas**, 'not wrapped round the shaft,' for the despatch was to be *concealed;* and as *illigare* is used (Cic. *Verr.* 4. 24. 54) of 'setting' precious stones, it may here denote any kind of connection, and = 'wrapped in the hollowed-out shaft,' or under the spear-head. **ad Caesarem**, who was now at Samarobriva, where also Trebonius' legion was stationed.

46.—1. **hora xi.**, see i. 26. 2 *n*. **Crassum**, c. 24. 8.

3. **cum**, *i.e.*, on the arrival of. **Fabius** was stationed in the land of the Morini, c. 24. 2. **scit** (on the present tense see vi. 4. 3 *n*.), understand *Caesar*. Fabius actually met Caesar (c. 47. 3) *in itinere*.

4. Labienus (see c. 24. 2) had a dangerous post near the revolted Treveri; hence are added the words *si...posset*. With the formula cp. i. 35. 4.
si posset...veniat = direct *si poteris veni;* cp. iii. 11. 5 *n*. **reliquam partem**, the legions under Roscius (c. 24. 2. and 7) and Plancus (c. 25. 4). **equites cccc.** From the scantiness of this number, and from c. 57. 2, *nuntios mittit equitesque undique evocat*, we may conclude that the cavalry were for the most part sent in the winter to their homes.

47.—1, 2. On the arrival of Crassus' advanced guard (*antecursores*, *antecessores*), haste was necessary. C. left the town in charge of Trebonius' legion, without waiting for the actual arrival of the legion of Crassus, to whom he entrusted the command. As Crassus received this commission on his arrival, and after C.'s departure, we need not be surprised

that **praeficit** follows **procedit.** Samarobriva was C.'s chief depot, and here also he kept his **publicae litterae,** 'state documents,' including accounts, reports, and the like: cp. Plut. *Tib. Gracch.* c. 6, *πινακίδες...γράμματα καὶ λόγους ἔχουσαι τῆς ταμιευτικῆς ἀρχῆς.*

5. **equitatus.** The gen. of definition, expressing that in, or of, which a thing consists: so *praesidia cohortium,* vii. 65. 1. Roby, § 1302 (*a*). **longe,** 'distant,' a colloquial expression, used again vii. 16. 1, *Bell. Civ.* ii. 37. 3.

48.—1. **opinione deiectus,** 'disappointed in his hope (=*exspectatione* of i. 8. 4) of getting three legions'; although, after having expected three legions, he had to content himself with two. **redierat,** 'had been reduced'; often (as here) used of one who has had to come down to something below what he has purposed.

3. **Gallis,** adj. C. avoids joining the form *Gallicus* (or *Germanicus,* vi. 37. 1; vii. 13. 1) with proper names.

4. **Graecis literis,** 'Greek characters,' as i. 29. 1; vi. 14. 3. The fact that these were known to the Helvetii does not prove that they were known to the Nervii (*maxime feri,* ii. 4. 8, 15. 5). But C. no doubt also used the Greek *language* (Dio 40. 9). **ab hostibus** is so placed to point the contrast with **nostra.**

5. **amentum,** '*lorum, quo media hasta religatur et iacitur,*' Servius. By its use the spear could be aimed more accurately and carry farther. Cic. *de Orat.* i. 57. 242, *amentatas hastas* (=Greek *μεσ-άγκυλον,* Eur. *Phoen.* 1141).

7. The especial danger which the Gaul feared was the chance of being shot by the Romans from the town.

8, 9. **tamen,** '*but* not,' i. 47. 1 *n.* **biduo**: the abl. here expresses *duration* of time. **perlectam,** *epistolam,* not of course *tragulam.* In § 5 *tragula cum epistola* is virtually one word, which makes this less remarkable.

49.—1. **armata,** agreeing with *milia;* cp. i. 49. 3, *milia expedita,* and ii. 4. 5 *n.* It was necessary to add that there were so many 'armed men,' as *omnibus copiis* need mean no more than 'with bag and baggage,' as i. 2. 1.

2. **data,** 'as opportunity offered' by the departure of the Gauls just mentioned. **Gallum** must mean '*another* Gaul,' or Caesar would certainly have written *eundem Gallum.*

3. **hostes** is the subject, **multitudinem** the object, of *convertisse:* cp. i. 51. 2; v. 22. 2, *nostri suos reduxerunt.*

4. **Caesar**, placed as ii. 11. 2 *n.* **animo**, 'in mind,' abl. of respect. *Bell. Civ.* ii. 4. 5, *rursus se ad confligendum animo confirmant.* **trans vallem** with *conspicatur.*

6. **tantulis copiis**, abl. of attendant circumstance, as 42. 3, *nullā copiā.* **tum**, 'furthermore,' marking the transition to Caesar's *second* reason for declining a battle. **consedit**, 'he *therefore* halted'; the result of the deliberations is put without any connecting participle, just as i. 23. 1 *n.*

7. For the change of tenses (*consedit*, *communit*, *contrahit*) cp. iv. 18. 3; vii. 4. 3. *Bell. Civ.* iii. 55. 1, *Calenum misit eique Sabinum adiungit.*

milium septem. The two legions (c. 48. 1) must have been greatly reduced: they had fought nearly the whole year long in Britain and Gaul. **nullis impedimentis**, this being at Samarobriva, c. 47. 2. **angustiis viarum**, lit., 'by the narrowness of the streets,' *i.e.*, 'by making narrow the streets (of the camp, Intr. § 29; Frontin. *Strateg.* 3. 17. 6, *metum simulavit militesque in castris, quae artiora solito industriā fecerat tenuit*).

50.—1. **aquam**, the river.

3. **si forte**, not '*to see* if' (as i. 8. 4, *si perrumpere possent conati*), but qualifying *ut...contenderet*, just as *si id eff. non posset* qualifies *ut...exiret.* Two possible chances are contrasted with each other. The conditional clause is placed like that in ii. 9. 1, *q. v.* **suum**, 'favourable to them'; cp. i. 15. 2, *alieno loco.* Plut. *Caes.* 24, χωρία λαβὼν ἐπιτηδείως ἔχοντα πρὸς πολλοὺς μαχομένῳ μετ' ὀλίγων.

51.—4. **ac**, 'and indeed.' The Romans (in order to confirm the idea of their fright, and to prevent any idea of a sortie) had blocked up the gates with turf, but *only one row thick*, which could easily be torn down when the proposed sortie should take place. For this reason also the Gauls did not try to break in there (**ea** = *per portas*). **videbantur** = *sibi videbantur*, *opinabantur.* **manu**, *i.e.*, without any tools, a further sign of their contempt. **vallum scindere**: iii. 5. 1; cp. Frontin. *Strat.* 3. 17. 6 (talking of the same thing), *Galli fossas implere et vallum detrahere coeperunt.*

5. **eruptione facta**, with the legionaries, as the words *equitatuque emisso* show. **pugnandi causa** is a necessary addi-

tion, as *resistere* often means simply 'to halt.' So Liv. 2. 59. 2, *nec ante restitit quam...vidit*, etc. **nemo**, i. 18. 3. **armis exuit**, iii. 6. 3 *n.*

52.—1. **prosequi**, c. 9. 8. **neque etiam** (=*et ne...quidem*, as *Bell. Civ.* i. 5. 1, *neque etiam extremi juris retinendi facultas tribuitur*), 'and because he saw that there was no longer any opportunity of inflicting any further loss on them'; c. 35. 4, *nec virtuti locus relinquebatur;* cp. vi. 42. 1.

4–6. 'the centurions' (not '*those* centurions'); see c. 1. 1 *n.* **rem gestam proponit**: iii. 18. 3 *n.* **hoc**, either ablative (as Schneider) or accusative.

53.—1. **per**, 'across the territory of,' not 'by means of,' this being expressed by *ab Remis.* L.'s camp lay (c. 24. 2) in the land of the Remi. **horam ix.**, i. 26. 2.

3. **Fabium**, c. 24. 2, and 47. 3.

4. **perlato**, 'noised abroad.' **de S. morte**, a more precise description of the general word *incommodum:* see c. 27. 3; vii. 9. 1; *Bell. Civ.* i. 33. 1, *probat rem de mittendis legatis.* **reliqui**, nom. pl., 'were trying to discover what plan the others were adopting.'

6. **in his**, 'among these messages' (= among the rest) was also the one he received from Roscius. **quem praefecerat**, c. 24. 2. **earum civitatum**, 'numbers of Gauls belonging to those states'; =*qui sunt earum c., quae.* **Aremoricae**, vii. 75. 4. They are enumerated ii. 34.

7. **longius milia**, i. 22. 1 *n.* **adeo**, 'so hurriedly.'

54.—1. **alias...alias**, 'at one time...at another time,' as c. 57. 3; cp. ii. 29. 5 *n.* Reid on Cic. *Lael.* 1.

2. **tamen**, so placed for emphasis, as c. 35. 5. **adventu**, '*at the time of* Caesar's arrival.' Notice that the words **in Galliam** qualify **adventu** as an attribute (cp. iv. 33. 1 *n.*). This is common with (but not confined to) verbal substantives, which indicate activity or direction to some object; so c. 2. 3, *in Britanniam traiectum;* Cic. *Fam.* 2. 1. 2, *erga me meritorum.* Further, *adventu* is so placed, the idea of the time being most important in the clause. Liv. 26. 21. 14, *post profectionem ex Sicilia Marcelli.* **interficere conati**, as the Carnutes actually did to Tasgetius, c. 25. 3.

3. **senatum**, see ii. 5. 1 *n.*

4. **principes inferendi belli**, 'to take the lead in waging' (and by their example causing others to do the same). Cic. *de Off.* 2. 4. 14, *qui principes inveniendi fuerunt*=qui primi invenerunt. Liv. 40. 53. 6, *qui principes et auctores transcendendi Alpes fuissent.* **commutationem**, he had hitherto succeeded in keeping the greater part of Gaul loyal, § 1. **praecipuo honore habuit**, see note on i. 26. 6, *eodem loco...habiturum.* **alteros** (i. 11. 3, 33. 2, 43. 6)...**alteros**, ii. 3-5, 9. 5. They both remained loyal to Rome in the general rising of Gaul: vii. 63. 7. **Gallici belli**, 'good services of (performed in) the Gallic war,' cp. iv. 16. 6, *occupationes reipublicae*: 22. 2, *tantularum rerum occupationes.* C. could trust both tribes the more implicitly inasmuch as they 'were looked upon as traitors by their own countrymen, whose vengeance they had reason to dread': thus c. 56. 5, Indutiomarus proposes to ravage the lands of the Remi.

5. **adeo**, with *mirandum.* For the sense cp. iii. 2. 5. A like reason is given for this resentment c. 29. 4, *ardere Galliam*, etc. **praeferebantur**, 'were superior' at the time when this pre-eminence was lost. **eius opinionis**, iv. 16. 7 *n.* **a populo R.**, dependent on the whole idea *imperia perferre* [not on *imperia* alone=*i. populi Romani*]; as i. 20. 4, *a Caesare accidisset*; ii. 31. 6, *fortunam a p. R. pati.* ['The Gauls had recovered from their first bewilderment, and the yoke had been too recently put on not to gall their necks. Gaul paid yearly 40 million sesterces as tribute, and had, summer and winter alike, to maintain the legions; one district after another was laid waste. The crowd at large felt the slavery, the nobles in addition the loss of their revenues and influence' (Drumann). These are the 'several other causes' to which C. merely alludes.]

55.—2. **cum dicerent**, 'because, *as they said* (i. 23. 3 *n.*), they had twice made the attempt' (*expertos* absolute, as *experiri*, i. 44. 4 *n.*). **Tencterorum**, including the Usipetes, in concert with whom they nearly always acted. So at Tac. *Ann.* i. 51 (where see Mr. Furneaux's note), *Bructeros, Tubantes, Usipetes*, the *Tencteri* must be understood.

4. 'in the name of the State and of themselves,' so *publice*, i. 16. 1.

56.—1. **ultro**, 'without his command.' **conscientia facinoris**, c. 54. 2, 25. 3.

2. **hoc**=*armatum concilium indictum;* **quo**=*ad cuiusmodi concilium;* cp. i. 4. 2, *eodem*=*ad iudicium.* For the fact see Liv. 21. 20. 1, *in iis nova terribilisque species visa est, quod armati,—ita mos gentis est,—in concilium venerunt.* **convēnit** (perf., cp. *manserunt,* iv. 1. 5 *n.*), used of a single man, as at vi. 37. 6.

3. **supra,** c. 3. 3. **sequi fidem** is explained iv. 21. 8 *n.* **discessisse,** *ab amicitia ejus defecisse.*

4. **huc**=*ad has civitates,* not *illuc,* because so recently mentioned.

57.—1. **natura et manu,** iii. 23. 2; v. 9. 4, 21. 4: *n. et opere.* **nihil timebat, cogitabat.** The asyndeson points the contrast.

2. **equites evocat,** c. 46. 4 *n.*

3. **alias...alias,** ii. 29. 5 *n.* **plerumque,** 'for the most part'; with *coniciebant* [not as Schneider with *omnes*=*paene omnes,* cp. Ter. *Phorm.* 192, *plerique omnes*]. For the order of the words see vii. 84. 5, *omnia enim plerumque,* etc.

4. Labienus acts like Sabinus, iii. 17. 6, and Caesar himself, c. 50. 5.

58.—1. **nocte una,** 'in a single night,' as *unus* is used c. 45. 2. The object of letting them *all* in during the one night was of course that the Gauls might know nothing of their presence.

4. **praecipit** belongs to *unum omnes peterent,* **interdicit** to *neu quis vulneret;* see c. 22. 5. On the sequence of tenses cp. i. 3. 5 *n.* **reliquorum,** 'occasioned by the pursuit of the rest,' a concise phrase like c. 54. 4, *belli officia.*

6. **comprobat,** 'approves' (by its success), shows that it was feasible and good. **hominis**=*eius,* in reference to an already mentioned person, as c. 7. 9, *illi circumsistunt hominem.* As *homo* takes the place of a pronoun, it is not qualified by *hic* or any like word. **ipso** serves to show how nearly he succeeded in escaping. In the uncertainty as to the exact position of the camp (c. 24. 7 *n.*) it is impossible to say with any certainty what river is meant.

7. **pauloque...Galliam.** For the order of words cp. ii. 21. 6, *quam quisque ab opere in partem casu devenit;* v. 4. 4, *id tulit factum graviter Indutiomarus.* See also vii. 35. 1, 36. 4, 84. 2.

BOOK VI.

[This book contains the events of B.C. 53. In spite of the apparent calm Caesar remained in Transalpine Gaul. The risings of the year before had no immediate success, but were an evil precedent certain to be followed. The serious loss of men under Titurius made before all things a new levy necessary.]

1.—1. **delectum habere** in Italy, see c. 32. 5.

2. Pompey had, B.C. 55, received the province of Spain for a period of five years; but, contrary to all usage, governing it by means of his *legati* Afranius and Petreius, he stayed in the neighbourhood of Rome in order to control the course of political events, under the pretext of looking after the corn supply. He was to collect corn from all provinces and to fix the price of it himself. **ad urbem**, 'near (not 'in') Rome.' A general in command of an army could not enter Rome without laying down his *imperium*. **quos rogasset**, B.C. 55. The power of raising as many troops as they wished and where they wished had been granted to Pompey and Crassus. So the former could hold a levy in Cisalpine Gaul, though this was Caesar's own province. Cic. *Att.* 4. 1. 7, *alteram* (legem scripsit) *Messius, qui omnis pecuniae dat potestatem ... et maius imperium in provinciis, quam sit eorum, qui eas obtineant.* **sacramento** (abl.) **rogare**, lit. 'ask by way of pledge,' hence (of the general) 'give the military oath'; so Liv. 3. 20; 4. 5, *sacramento adigere.* The recruit was said *sacramentum* (or *sacramento*, Liv. 2. 24) *dicere*, *Bell. Civ.* i. 23. 5; Roby, § 1238, 1245. One man out of each legion uttered the formula, the rest one after another coming forward and repeating *idem in me.* **consul**, B.C. 55; see iv. 1. 1.

3. **opinionem Galliae** (subjective gen.), *i.e.*, with regard to the (high) opinion held by the Gauls as to the inexhaustible power of Rome. **videri**, 'be seen,' passive, as c. 3. 4; ii. 28. 3. **facultates**, 'resources,' as § 4, *opes.* **augere**, viz., the army thus reduced, though grammatically *detrimentum* is the subject. See like conciseness at v. 48. 9.

4. Pompey was now, at least outwardly, in friendly relations with Caesar (see vii. 6. 1 *n.*), and gave him the legion without consulting the senate. Plut. *Cat. Min.* 45, ἑξακισχιλίων ὁπλιτῶν δύναμιν Καίσαρι κέχρηκεν εἰς Γαλατίαν· ἃ οὔτ' ἐκεῖνος ᾔτησε παρ' ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ δυνάμεις τηλικαῦται καὶ ὅπλα καὶ ἵπποι χάριτές εἰσιν ἰδιωτῶν καὶ ἀντιδόσεις. This legion (called

'the 1st') he afterwards demanded back from Caesar (viii. 54. 2). **duplicato numero.** By the loss of fifteen cohorts the number of his legions had been reduced to seven; now he had ten. Cp. c. 32. 5; Intr. p. xxvii.

2.—1. **ut docuimus**: at v. 58. 6. **ad eius propinquos**: according to v. 4. 2, all the relations of Indutiomarus were with Caesar as hostages. He must have given them back on his return from Britain, or Indutiomarus would scarcely have dared to revolt.

2. **inter se confirmant**: in this phrase the object of *confirmant* is *coniurationem*, to be supplied from the context (cp. v. 27. 10, *illud ... se iureiurando confirmare*). Contrast *cohortati inter se*, v. 25. 5 *n.* **cavent**, 'take security by the interchange of hostages,' so vii. 2. 2. **obsidibus**, abl. of the means, Roby, § 1218.

3. **Cisrhenanis Germanis**, see ii. 4. 10. **Senones**, see v. 54. **ad**, 'in obedience to,' 'at'; so *ad edictum*, *ad tempus*. **consilia communicare**, vii. 63. 4 *n.*

3.—1, 2. The four legions appear to be the three with which he encamped round Samarobriva (v. 53. 3), and that under Fabius among the Morini, v. 24. 2. **priusquam possent**, subj. of *purpose*, as ii. 12. 1. See also Bryans' *Caesar*, p. 67.

4. **concilio edicto**, v. 2. 4 *n.* **ut instituerat** = *ut facere consuerat*, as c. 44. 3; v. 1. 1; vii. 13. 1; so i. 50. 1, *instituto suo;* vii. 24. 5, *instituto Caesaris.* *Treveros***que**, i. 29. 1 *n.* **hoc**, sc. the staying away of the Senones; cp. v. 2. 4 *n.* **omnia postponere videretur**, 'it might be seen that he regarded as of less weight.' **transfert**, in order to be near the Senones.

5. **coniunxerant**, 'had united their state' (with the Senones), so as to make *one* state, not 'had made an alliance.' **hoc consilio**, *defectionis*.

6. **hac re**, the adjournment of the council. **pro suggestu**, 'from the front of the platform,' and to the Gauls, not merely to the soldiers; Intr. § 29. 4.

4.—1. **princeps**, 'ringleader,' ii. 14. 4. **posset**, subj., although no purpose is intended; contrast c. 3. 2 *n.*; compare iii. 26. 3 *n.* Roby, § 1674.

2. **fide**, 'protection'; cp. vii. 5. 2.

3. **petentibus Aeduis**, 'at the request of the Aeduans,' not dat. as i. 28. 5. **quod aestivum tempus** *esse tempus* **instantis belli**, 'his opinion being that the summer should be devoted to the impending war, not to an inquiry.' *Bell. Civ.* iii. 60. 1, *tempus illud animadversionis esse.* At the end of the campaign he held this inquiry at Durocortorum, c. 44. 1. **arbitratur**, present after the present in the principal clause, as *Bell. Civ.* i. 4. 3, *Scipionem eadem spes...exercituum, impellit, quos se...partiturum cum Pompeio arbitratur.*

4, 5. **eodem**, to Agedincum. **obsidibus...hos**, iv. 21. 6; cp. c. 43. 1. **clientela**, i. 31. 6.

5.—1. **et mente et animo**, 'with his whole heart and mind'; cp. i. 39. 1, iii. 19. 6 *n.*; *Bell. Civ.* i. 21. 6, *ut alius in aliam partem mente atque animo traheretur.* **Treverorum**, for the gen. cp. c. 29. 4; i. 30. 1, 44. 9.; *Bell. Civ.* ii. 23. 3, *bellum praedonum.*

2. **Cavarinus**, see v. 54. **iracundia**, 'anger' at their having driven him away. **meruerat**, 'had earned' by his cruelty, and not merely because of his having been restored by Caesar, v. 54. 2. **civitatis**, with *motus.*

3. **concertaturum**, 'measure himself,' here only in Caesar; *proelio decertare* (i. 50. 4) has quite a different meaning.

4. **Menapii...miserant**, cp. iii. 28. 1. **perpetuis**, c. 31. 2, *continentes paludes.*

5. **cogeretur** (sc. *Caesar*) = *necessitate coactus conaretur.* **congredi**, 'to combine,' = *se coniungere.*

6. **ad Labienum in Treveros** (so also c. 7. 1). But Labienus according to v. 24. 2, encamped among the *Remi* on the borders of the Treveri. The probable solution is that he actually encamped in the lands of some small state (Heller suggests the Segni), which, lying between its powerful neighbours, might be counted as belonging now to the one of them, now to the other. **expeditis**, Intr. § 26. obs. 1.

6.—1–3. **partitis**, used in a passive sense by Caesar also in vi. 33. 1, vii. 24. 5; but all other forms both in Caesar and Cicero belong to the deponent *partior;* Roby, § 734. **quaestor**, Intr. § 18. **pontibus**, 'causeways' across the swamps; Tac. *Ann.* 1. 63. 5, with Furneaux's note. **aedificia vicosque**, i. 5. 2. **hostium numero habere**, see i. 26. 6 *n.*

4. **confirmatis,** 'settled,'=*ita constitutis* (c. 5. 3) *ut firmae essent;* cp. *Bell. Civ.* i. 74. 3, *quibus confirmatis rebus se signa translaturos confirmat.* **Commium,** iv. 21. 7.

7.—1. **peditatūs,** gen., see v. 47. 5 *n.* **hiemaverat,** the pluperfect denotes not that the legion was not still there, but that the winter was over (c. 4. 3). **parare,** with the inf., vii. 71. 9; *Bell. Civ.* i. 83. 4, *munitiones institutas parat perficere.*

2-4. **viā** (see i. 15. 5, 22. 1) may stand either for *quam viam*, or for *quam viā*, abl. of distance as i. 41. 5, *milibus... abesse;* Roby, § 1087. **missu,** v. 27. 1 *n.* **a milibus,** ii. 7. 3. **impedimentis,** c. 5. 6.

5. **flumen,** not the *Maas* (*Meuse*), which would have certainly been mentioned by *name.* It has been supposed to be the *Mosel* (*Moselle*), by others the tributary of this the Sura (*Sour*), by v. Göler the *Alzette*, by Heller (*Philol.* xxii. p. 155) the *Ourt.*

6. **loquitur,** '*accordingly* he (Labienus) declares.' **devocaturum,** 'bring into danger,' as *Bell. Hispan.* 24. 2, *haec res necessario devocabat, ut ad dimicationem descenderet.* For the forces of *de* in composition see Roby, §§ 1913-1922. **et,** with a somewhat adversative sense, iv. 35. 2.

7. **ut,** v. 43. 5. **natura,** their natural love for their fatherland.

8, 9. **primis ordinibus,** i. 41. 3; v. 30. 1; Intr. § 20. **quid sui sit consilii,** i. 21. 2. **populi R.,** stronger than *exercituum, militum Romanorum.* **in tanta propinquitate,** i. 27. 4.

8.—1. **cohortati inter se,** iv. 25. 5 *n.* **longum esse,** *Bell. Civ.* i. 29. 2, *id* (*exspectare naves*) *longum atque impeditum videbatur;* see i. 2. 5 *n.*

4, 5. **illum adesse...existimate:** so vii. 62. 2. The presence of the general, as a witness of gallant deeds, was a great spur to courage; see ii. 25. 3; iii. 14. 8; Intr. p. xxvi. **aciem dirigi:** elsewhere Caesar uses *instruere* (*instituere, constituere*) *aciem.* Liv. 21. 47. 8, *in conspectu hostium acie directa.*

6, 7. **modo,** 'merely,' *i.e.*, '*even the first* onset; vii. 76. 6, *adspectum modo.* **recepit,** 'won back,' *ex defectione;* see v. cc. 2–5. **percepta**=*audita et cognita*, v. i. 8.

9. **quem demonstravimus,** viz., v. 3. 3, 56. 3.

9.—1. The narrative is resumed from c. 6. 4.

2. **miserant** *Transrhenani.* On **se**, for which (as *miserant*, not *misissent*, follows) we should have expected *eum*, cp., *e.g.*, *Bell. Civ.* iii. 53. 5, *quem Caesar, ut erat de se meritus, ad primipilum se traducere pronuntiavit.*

3. **paulum** (the acc. with *supra* and other comparative words is rare, *paulo* usual, c. 19. 4 ; iv. 36. 3), *i.e.*, a little to the south, nearer to Coblenz, probably near Andernach. The other end of the bridge touched the land of the Ubii.

4. **instituta,** 'customary,' as 34. 6.

6. **ante,** at his first crossing (iv. 16. 5), as in § 3. **purgandi sui causa,** iii. 6. 1 *n.*

7. **vellet** : the previous tenses have been present, the change is due to the new verb *pollicentur ;* cp. i. 7. 3 ; *Bell. Civ.* i. 26. 3, *mandat, ut Libonem hortetur ; imprimis, ut ipse cum Pompeio colloqueretur, postulat.* **amplius,** 'a larger number,' used as a substantive. **dare pollicentur,** iv. 21. 5.

8. **cognita Caesar causa,** ii. 11. 2 ; v. 49. 4. **cognoscere,** 'investigate,' i. 19. 5.

10.—1. **in unum locum cogere,** as at his first invasion, iv. 19. 2. **omnes,** with *copias.* **peditatus,** v. 47. 5 *n.*

2. **barbaros inopia cibar. adductos,** cp. ii. 10. 4 *n.* **condicionem,** sc. *subeundam.* **de**-*duci*, as *de-vocare*, c. 7. 6. **penitus,** 'quite'; Verg. *Aen.* 2. 19, *penitusque cavernas | ingentes uterumque armato milite complent.*

5. **quae appellatur,** indic., because a statement of the writer ; see i. 10. 1. *n.* Other instances of this occur i. 28. 4, 38. 1 ; iv. 4. 10 ; v. 53. 6, 55. 4. **introrsus,** 'into the interior,' *i.e.*, eastwards. **iniuriis prohibere** really form one compound word = *defendere*, and can therefore be followed by the preposition *ab.* **iniuriis,** 'from suffering wrong,' usually with *defendere*, 'from *doing* harm,' *e.g.*, i. 15. 4. **initium silvae,** in the neighbourhood of Meiningen.

11.—[Caesar inserts the account of the German and Gallic manners and customs more because he thought it a suitable place for introducing it than because it fits in better than it would in several other places. In fact, he does not wish to place 'I came and went' too closely side by side, and so separates them by this episode.]

2. **partibusque**, *civitatum.* The genus after the species, as often in Caesar; i. 39. 1, iii. 14. 7 *n.* The natural order occurs c. 23. 5, *regionum atque pagorum.*

3. **eorum**, *Gallorum;* but **quorum** *principum* ('so much so that under their...comes,' etc.) **redeat**, subj. because the sentence is consecutive (expressing the *redire* as *characteristic* of them, Roby, § 1680 f.). For the verb itself cp. *Bell. Civ.* i. 4. 2, *se alterum fore Sullam ad quem summa imperii r e d e a t;* iii. 18. 2, *eo mortuo ad neminem unum summa imperii r e d i t.* Plut. *Anton.* 56, ἔδει πάντα εἰς Καίσαρα π ε ρ ι ε λ θ ε ῖ ν.

4, 5. **ita-que** = *et ita*, referring to the foregoing, **eius rei** to the coming final clause *ne...egeret.* **si faciat...habet**: the only instance in Caesar of this sequence, according to Dräger. **in summa**, 'as a whole' [not 'in the chief government']; cp. Cic. *ad Q. Fr.* 2. 16. 3, *Drusus...erat absolutus, in summa quattuor sententiis.* **Galliae**, after *ratio.*

12.—1. **alterius Sequani**, in earlier times the Arverni, i. 31 and 32, Intr. p. xxi.

2. **antiquitus**, not to be taken too strictly, as, before the Aedui, the Arverni held the hegemony; see i. 31. 3. The Aedui then got their power by the aid of Roman friendship. **iacturis**, 'sacrifices'; *Bell. Civ.* iii. 112. 10, *magnis i a c t u r i s sibi quisque eorum animos conciliabat.* For the facts see i. 31. 10, 44. 2, *sese* (Ariovistum) *non sine magna spe magnisque praemiis domum propinquosque reliquisse.*

5. Divitiacus went to Rome (i. 31. 9) B.C. 61. Cic. *de Divin.* i. 41. 90 calls him his *hospes et laudator.* **imperfecta** = attempted but not carried through, not so strong as *infecta* would be.

6. **reliquis rebus**, abl. instr., 'by all other means' (by which Caesar sought to regain them their former prestige). **dimiserant**, 'had lost,' lit. 'let slip.' Cp. viii. 5. 1, *nuper devicti complura oppida dimiserant.*

7. **quos**, the subject, *Aeduos* (understood) the object of **adaequare**, which in Caesar (meaning 'to equal,' 'rival') takes the acc. only; cp. i. 48. 7, ii. 32. 5, etc.

8. **tenebant**, 'held,' 'possessed.' *Bell. Civ.* iii. 56. 2, *ut famam opinionemque hominum t e n e r e t.*

13.—1–3. **numero**, 'account' (like ἀριθμός). **loco**, metaph. i. 26. 6 *n.* **nullo**, dative; cp. *alterae*, v. 27. 5 *n.* **aere alieno**

premuntur, cp. *obaeratos*, i. 4. 2 *n*. **sed**, 'however,' resuming the thread of the narrative from *genera sunt duo*. **druides**, Intr. p. xxii.

4. **intersunt**, 'officiate in'; *interesse* always denotes an active participation; see, *e.g.*, vii. 87. 5. In c. 21. 1, it is expressed, *qui rebus divinis praesint*, which combines the *sacrificia...procurant, religiones interpretantur* of this section. **procurant**: 'see to,' 'manage'; '*id egisse dicuntur, ut omnia tam publica quam privata suo loco et tempore et a quibus et quo modo fas et opus esset, fierent*,' Schneider. **religiones**, religious principles, customs, and ceremonies, '*docent quid religionis causa in quaque re faciendum sit*,' Jacobs. **eos**, *Gallos*, as *eorum*, c. 11. 3.

5, 6. **si** is not repeated before *de finibus*, as *ne*, vii. 66. 7, *ne tecto recipiatur, ne ad liberos, ne ad parentes, ad uxorem aditum habeat*. **p. poenasque**, 'awards and penalties,' not punishments for crimes (for see c. 17. 5 f.). **constituunt**, 'decide.' **de** as with *cognoscere* and like verbs. **constituunt** repeated as, *e.g.*, *conficiendas*, i. 3. 2: see i. 49. 2 *n*. **idem** =*iidem*. **si qui non stetit** ('has refused to abide')...**interdicunt**: see iv. 1. 5 *n*.

7. **decedunt** *de via*, 'get out of their way.' The following asyndeton (*aditum*, etc.) vigorously depicts the loathing, and **aditum...defugiunt** virtually=*fugiendo devitant*. **his...communicatur**, 'neither to their prayer is justice rendered, nor have they any share in the offices of the state.' Usually *cum his* would be again supplied with *communicatur*; but cp. c. 23. 9, *his omnium domus patent victusque communicatur*.

9, 10. **contendunt**, to be supplied also with **suffragio**, which, like *armis*, is an instrumental abl. **considunt**, 'sit in judgment.' The place appears to have been where *Dreux* now stands. **disciplina**, 'the institution.' In Britain, where no foreign influences would counterbalance, it would survive in all the more vigour.

14.—3. **versuum**, into which form the doctrines would be thrown. **cum**, 'whereas,' concessive. **rationibus**, 'documents'=*tabulae* of i. 29. 1. Some inscriptions in Gallic, but written in Greek characters, have been found (Desjardin's *Géogr.* ii. 214).

4. **quod velint**, subj., as i. 23. 3 *n*. **ut remittant**, added to define *quod...accidit*, as i. 5. 7, 7. 1 *n*. So c. 15. 1, *quod accidere solebat, uti...propulsarent*; Cic. *de Orat.* 2. 10. 39,

quod quidem eloquentem vel optime facere oportet, ut eloquentiam laudet; Lael. 15. 53, *quod Tarquinium dixisse ferunt, tum exsulantem se intellexisse, quos fidos amicos habuisset* (where the words *tum...habuisset* are explanatory of *quod*). The thought is found in Plato *Phaedr.* 275A, τοῦτο γὰρ (writing) τῶν μαθόντων λήθην ἐν ψυχαῖς παρέξει μνήμης ἀμελετησίᾳ.

5, 6. **hoc,** *persuadere,* 'the following doctrine'; whereas the second *hoc* refers back to the doctrine of transmigration. So *hoc* refers to what has already been said, c. 23. 3. **terrarum,** 'the world'=*orbis terrarum.*

15.—1. **equitum,** 'the knights,' who with the Druids made up the *nobiles.* **cum** *est,* 'whenever'; Roby, §§ 1716, 1717. **incidit,** perfect, iv. 1. 5 *n.*

2. **ambactus:** Festus, p. 4, *ambactus apud Ennium lingua Gallica servus appellatur.* A Keltic, not Teutonic, word. For the fact cp. c. 13. 2, *sese in servitutem dicant nobilibus.* **clientes,** i. 4. 2. **hanc...noverunt,** 'this is the one sign of influence and power which they recognize.' So with the Germans: Tac. *Germ.* 13, *magna aemulatio...principum, cui plurimi et acerrimi comites. Haec dignitas, hae vires...in pace decus, in bello praesidium.*

16.—1. **natio est omnis,** for the order of the words cp. 1. 1. 1 *n.* **religionibus,** 'religious observances.'

2. **morbis gravioribus,** which the Druids (whose only medicines were a few herbs) could not heal, and which were regarded as signs of the gods' anger demanding propitiatory sacrifices.

4. **simulacra,** colossal statues in the form of men. The Semitic worship of Moloch was not unlike: cp. Milton's *Par. Lost,* i. 392, "First Moloch, horrid king, besmeared with blood | Of human sacrifice and parents' tears, | Though, for the noise and drums and timbrels loud, | Their children's cries unheard that passed through fire | *To his grim idol.*" **eorum qui,** 'such as,' with the generic subjunctive.

5. **aliqua noxia,** 'any wrongdoing'; the preposition omitted as in i. 44. 11 *n.* [*noxa*='the *punishment* of wrongdoing.'] **cum defecit,** c. 15. 1. **descendunt,** v. 29. 5 *n.*

17.—1. Caesar endows the Gallic (as Tacitus the German) deities with the names and attributes of Roman gods. It

suited the Roman temper to prefer a picture only half correct, but clear so far as it went, to earning the gratitude of after-ages by preserving the barbaric names. By Mercury is meant the Keltic *Teutates*, by Apollo *Belon*, by Mars *Hesus*, by Jupiter *Taranis*. Mercury was a minor god among the Romans, the Hermes of the Greeks much higher, the *Teutates* of the Kelts higher still [Grimm, *Mythologie*, i. 108; *History of the German Language*, i. 120]. Lucan, i. 444 ff., *et quibus immitis placatur sanguine diro, Teutates horrensque feris altaribus Hesus, et Taranis Scythicae non mitior ara Dianae.* **viarum ducem** (= ὁδηγόν), in so far as he shows the way; Liv. 9. 5. 7, *illis non ducem locorum fuisse;* **itinerum**, in so far as he guides the traveller and brings him to his journey's end; Liv. 21. 29. 6, *duces itinerum.*

2. **Minerva**, perhaps = *Belisana*, a moon-goddess. **initia**, 'the rudiments of all handiwork and arts.' So Athene got the title Ἐργάνη [cp. Soph. fragm. 724, τὴν Διὸς γοργῶπιν Ἐργάνην; Hor. *Od.* 3. 12. 5, *operosaeque Minervae*] as the patroness of all women's work.

3. **cum constituerunt**, c. 15. 1. **ceperint** ('they promise to dedicate whatever they shall have taken'), *devovent*, containing a future signification (= *se immolaturos vovent*). **superaverunt** = *proelio superiores discesserunt*, *i.e.*, 'after a victory'; cp. the use of *superare*, i. 50. 5. [See Crit. App.] **reliquas res** ('the rest of the booty') **conferunt** ('heap up'); Liv. 5. 39. 1 (also of Gauls), *postremo caesorum spolia legere armorumque cumulos, ut mos eis est, coacervare.*

5. **posita**, 'what has been deposited' as an offering to the god. Diod. Sic. 5. 27, οὐδεὶς ἅπτεται τούτου διὰ τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν.

18.—1. No Gallic god can be identified with Dis. **prognatos**, ii. 29. 4. This Druid tradition that all are sprung from Dis is connected with a belief in *autochthonia*, but scarcely the custom of measuring time by nights, which was common to Germans also (Tac. *Germ.* 11). The Greeks also and most ancient nations began their day at sunset, and at first reckoned by the *moon* (so our words *fortnight*, *se'nnight*), not the sun. See the interesting passage in Max Müller, *Science of Language*, vol. i. p. 6 f.

2, 3. **finiunt**, 'define,' as c. 25. 1. **fere**, 'roughly speaking.'

19.—1, 2. **communicant cum**, 'unite with,' *i.e.*, 'add to.' **vita superavit**, 'has survived,' perf., as c. 15. 1 *n.*

3. **de morte,** 'if any suspicion has arisen about his death.' **servilem,** slaves alóne could be tortured at Rome.

4. **paulo supra hanc** (=*hominum, qui nunc vivunt*) **memoriam,** *i.e.*, shortly before our time; Liv. 2. 41. 3, *lex agraria, numquam deinde usque ad hanc memoriam sine maximis motibus res agitata.* More usual is *nostra memoria,* ii. 4. 7. **iustis,** 'in every detail'; so *iustum iter,* 'a full day's march.'

20.—1. **commodius,** 'at all judiciously'; cp. ii. 20. 3; vii. 6. 1. Cic. *Fam.* 9. 20, *quominus res publica a me commode administrari possit.* **habent,** 'have it enjoined by their laws'; much stronger than *sanxerunt* would have been; see i. 15. 1 *n.* **rumore aut fama,** 'rumour or report'; this latter being the more definite word; cp. v. 39. 1, *fama* ('news') *de Titurii morte perlata,* with iv. 5. 3, *cum incertis rumoribus serviant* (sc. *Galli*).

3. **per,** 'during,' 'in.' **loqui** is the subject of *conceditur*, a poetical usage, Madv., § 390, obs. 5.

21.—1. The Germans had priests and even priestesses, but no close priestly caste with its political influence. **student.** They used to sacrifice, but not to the extent the Gauls did. Much of Caesar's information was probably derived from noticing Ariovistus' hordes, who had been roving for fourteen years, i. 36. 7. Tac. *Germ.* 9 says, *cui* (i.e., *Mercurio*) *humanis quoque hostiis litare, fas habent.*

2. **aperte,** so placed for emphasis. **reliquos ne fama quidem acceperunt.** This is contradicted by Tac. *Germ.* 9, who gives Mercury, Hercules, and others as their chief gods. An idea of a simple nature-worship or of a personification of the Sun, Fire, and the Moon is unlikely when contrasted with Tacitus' definite statements.

5. **intra,** i. 36. 7 *n.* **occultatio,** 'means of hiding'; Cic. *ad Att.* 9. 13. 5, *sed ibi occultatio nulla est; Orat.* 2. 89. 364, *adimere omnem recusationem* ('possibility of refusing'). **pellibus...nuda,** iv. 1. 10, Tac. *Germ.* 17. **rhenonum,** 'reindeer-skins,' a Keltic word. Isidorus (d. A.D. 637), *rhenones sunt velamina umerorum et pectoris usque ad umbilicum atque intortis villis adeo hispida, ut imbrem respuant.'* The gen. is one of definition, showing that of which a thing consists, as *Bell. Civ.* i. 42. 3, *munitio fossae;* so *tegmen fagi,* Verg. *Ecl.* i. 1.; *tegmen caeli,* Lucr. 1. 988. Their going nearly *naked* must be

taken of their equipment for battle ; if not, Caesar is contradicted by Tacitus.

22.—1. **agriculturae non student.** Both the present chapter and iv. 1. 6 (about the Suebi) show that it was practised, but the lack of continued occupation and tillage by the same man, also (Tac. *Germ.* 15) the fact that tillage was left *feminis senibusque et infirmissimo cuique,* justify this statement, especially in reference to the Kelts (cp. 21. 1 *n.*), who practised agriculture earlier than the Germans.

2. **gentibus,** families. **cognationibus,** 'clans.' **agri** depends on *quantum,* but **et quo loco** is put between in order to bring the two relations close together. What Caesar at iv. 1. 1. ascribes to the Suebi in particular is here, as in Tac. *Germ.* 26, given as generally German. **anno...cogunt,** 'a year later compel them to migrate'; for the custom (with the Getae) cp. Hor. *Od.* 3. 24. 14, *nec cultura placet longior annua* [Peskett].

3, 4. **frigora atque aestus:** see v. 12. 6 *n.* **aequitate contineant,** 'keep them quiet on a principle of moderation'; Cic. *Cato.* 1. 1, *novi moderationem animi et aequitatem;* Nepos *Thras.* 4. 2, *nolo amplius quam centum iugera, quae meam animi aequitatem...indicent.* With *continere aequitate* cp. Liv. 30. 20, *oppida quae magis metu quam fide continebantur.* The translation 'keep in contentment' would require the prep. *in,* as iii. 11. 2, *in officio;* Cic. *Brut.* 97. 332, *in studiis ;* Liv. 9. 41, *in armis. Castris continere* is not to the point. **cum potentissimis** = *cum potentissimorum opibus,* by *comparatio compendiaria,* for which see Page on Hor. *Od.* 2. 6. 14, cp. *capris,* c. 27. 1, *Britanniae,* iv. 22. 2.

23.—1. See iv. 3, 1.

2. **hoc,** see c. 14. 5 *n.*

3. **hoc,** see same note.

5. Each *several* district had its own *magistratus* and *principes.* **principes regionum :** Tac. *Germ.* 12, *eliguntur in eisdem conciliis et principes, qui iura per pagos vicosque reddunt. Centeni singulis ex plebe comites, consilium simul et auctoritas, adsunt.* **regiones,** 'districts,' a wider word than *pagi,* 'cantons,' c. 11. 2. **minuunt,** 'settle,' by peaceful arbitration.

7–9. **atque,** 'and besides.' **ubi dixit,** c. 15. 1 *n.* **profiteantur** = (*nomina*) *profiteantur,* jussive conjunctive. **ex his,** of

those who have taken his side. **quaque**, 'any,' vii. 22. 1 *n.* On *qui venerunt, ab iniuria prohibent* see iv. 7. 3 *n.* **ab iniuria prohibent**, v. 21. 1. **communicatur**, c. 13. 7 *n.*

24.—1. Tac. *Agr.* 11, *nam Gallos quoque in bellis floruisse accepimus: mox segnitia cum otio intravit.* **trans Rhenum colonias mitterent.** As early as Tarquinius Priscus, the Keltic king Ambigatus, *exonerare regnum cupiens*, sent his nephew Segovesus with colonists across the Rhine: *Segoveso sortibus dati Hercynii saltus*, Liv. 5. 34. Tac. *Germ.* 28, *validiores Gallorum olim res fuisse summus auctorum divus Iulius tradit; eoque credibile est etiam Gallos in Germaniam transgressos. Igitur inter Hercyniam silvam Rhenumque et Moenum amnes Helvetii, ulteriora Boii...tenuere.*

2. **Eratosthenes**, born at Cyrene B.C. 272, died 192; distinguished as an astronomer, mathematician, and geographer. **quibusdam**, 'certain others,' as Timosthenes, to whom Eratosthenes was indebted; *Bell. Civ.* iii. 96. 1, *Lentuli et nonnullorum tabernacula.* **video**, of knowledge gained from *reading* (*vidi* that from actual experience), whereas *audio* (like ἀκούω) refers to that gained from lecturing or oral tradition: cp. Reid's notes on Cic. *Cato.* 20, *quod si legere aut audire voletis externa; Lael.* 54, *atque hoc quidem videre licet.* **quam video...quam appellant**, c. 11. 3.

3. 'enjoys a very high reputation for justice and prowess in war'; cp. ii. 8. 1; vii. 59. 5, *maximam habet opinionem virtutis.* **laus**: '*metonymice dicitur de recte factis et virtute, quia his laudem meremur,*' Forcellini.

4. The general sense is: 'in days of old the Gauls were better men than the Germans (this is proved by the settling of the Tectosages in a fruitful plot of German land); but now, while the Germans have kept up their hardy mode of life, the Gauls lying close to the enervating refinements of the Province (cp. i. 1. 3) have gradually come both to be and to confess that they are inferior to the Germans.' **inopia**, 'poverty' [ἀπορία, opposed to *copia, opulentia*]. **egestas**, 'want' [opposed to *abundantia*]. **patientia**, 'endurance' of hardships; Cic. *Off.* 1. 34. 122, *haec aetas exercenda est in labore patientiaque.*

5. **provinciarum**, the two Gauls, Cis- and Trans-alpine. **ad copiam et usus**, 'articles of luxury and service'; the latter varies with the different objects to which it is applied, hence the plural.

6. **assuefacti superari**: cp. iv. 2. 3, *remanere assuefecerunt.* **ne se quidem ipsi**, for *ne ipsi quidem se* or *ne se ipsi quidem:* cp. iii. 6, *ne in locis quidem superioribus.*

25.—1. **demonstrata**, 'mentioned.' **expedito** (*dat. commodi*)=*qui sine impedimentis iter facit;* Herod. 1. 72, *μῆκος ὁδοῦ εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρί.* **patet**, 'extends.' **finiri**, 'computed,' c. 18. 2 *n.* **mensuras**, *i.e.*, they knew no measurements by *paces, stades*, or the like, only by the uncertain and indefinite 'day's march.' [Just so Grote and others suggest that the Persian *parasang* was a measure of time, probably an hour's march.]

2. **oritur** (§ 4, *oriatur*), see i. 1. 6 *n.* **recta regione**, 'parallel to.'

4. **huius**, *i.e.*, western, in which Caesar now is. **se** is placed as if it belonged also to a word in the second part of the sentence. **initium**, the eastern end. **quae sint**=*talia ut sint.*

5. **quae differant**, 'which are so constituted as,' etc.

26.—1. This *bos* is probably 'the reindeer' (*cervus tarandus*), which once lived much farther south than now, and retreated north on the removal of the forests and consequent change of climate. [Others take it to be 'the bison.'] The Romans called any unknown large animal *bos*, so *Luca bos*='the elephant.' **unum cornu**, probably an error arising from Caesar's informant having seen only one whose horn happened to be broken off.

2. **sicut palmae** may be taken in various ways:—(1) The tines spread from the main antler as the fingers from the hand; with which compare *palmites* as defined by Festus, p. 220, *palmites* (*vitium sarmenta, quod in modum palmarum humanarum virgulas quasi digitos edunt*). (2) The knots in trees from which branches shoot, *quod cum prima ramorum parte quasi digitis dilatatae manus speciem praebet.* (3) At the extremities the antlers spread like the flat of the hand, ending in tines like fingers; Pliny 11. 37. 45, *sparsit* (*natura cornua*) *in ramos; aliorum finxit in palmas digitosque emisit ex iis, unde platycerotas vocant.* The tines of a reindeer's antlers begin by growing behind, afterwards above and outside, with one point turned forwards. The eye-antler is not seldom like a hand in shape, and reaches a considerable length; the scoop-shaped end sends several shoots out.

27.—1. **quae appellantur**, 'the so-called,' not 'there are other animals *which are called,*' as this would require the subjunctive; cp. iv. 10. 5 *n.* **alces**, 'elks,' which also have retreated north. The absence of joints is not true, though Pliny (8. 16. 39) describes the *achlis*, seemingly the same animal, in much the same way. **capris**=*figurae caprorum*, c. 22. 4 *n.* **varietas**, 'piebald colour,' the mane brown, the body brown and white. [Not 'change of colour' in the various seasons of the year, which is actually the case, but which *varietas* alone cannot mean.] **mutilae cornibus** (abl. of respect): the antlers are usually blunted and broad and at the end throw out several rounded tines.

2. **si**, 'if,' *i.e.*, whenever; cp. 4, *cum est animadversum;* 5, *cum se reclinaverunt*; see iv. 1. 5 *n.* **aut**, 'or even'; as iv. 30. 2, *his superatis aut* ('or at any rate') *reditu interclusis.*

4. **accīdunt**, 'cut down.' **summa** (adj.), 'the general appearance'; Pliny 21. 8. 23, *summa natura eius* (*amaranti*) *in nomine est.* **tantum ut**: the words arranged as in *adeo* (*sic, usque eo*) *ut*, v. 53. 7; vii. 17. 3.

5. **consuetudine**, 'according to their custom,' as vii. 24. 2; but iv. 32. 1, *ex consuetudine.* With a genitive or adj. (*cotidiana, pristina, sua*) the prep. is omitted, ii. 19. 32; iii. 23; iv. 12—four times in *Bell. Civ.* With *ex*, i. 52. 4; v. 58. 2.

28.—1. **species**, 'appearance,' εἶδος. **figura**, 'shape,' 'outline,' σχῆμα; Cic. *Orat.* 1. 25. 114, *conformatio quaedam et figura totius corporis;* see c. 35. 6 *n.*

4, 5, 6. **excepti**, 'caught. **cornibus**, an instance of *comparatio compendiaria*, c. 22. 4 *n.* **ab labris**, '*at* the rim'; see *ab Sequanis*, i. 1. 5 *n;* and cp. c. 27. 4, *ab radicibus.*

29.—1. **supra**: c. 22. 1. **homines Germani**: cp. ii. 30. 4, *hominibus Gallis.*

3. **cohortium**, of auxiliaries (Intr. § 11), as in c. 33. Caesar had his full legionary force with him.

4. As long as **Ambiorix** lived, hating the Romans with a hate as great as the cunning which kept him out of the way, Caesar could hope for no peace in Gaul. His death *must* be brought about at once, and accordingly Caesar himself led the force. Cp. viii. 24, *ipse* (Caesar) *ad populandos devastandosque fines Ambiorigis proficiscitur; quam perterritum ac*

fugientem cum redigi posse in suam potestatem desperasset, proximum suae dignitatis esse ducebat, adeo fines eius vastare civibus, aedificiis, pecore, ut odio suorum Ambiorix, si quos fortuna reliquos fecisset, nullum reditum propter tantas calamitates haberet in civitatem. **quingentis**, an exaggeration. D'Anville and v. Göler propose CL as the original of D (=500). But see v. 3. 40 as to the direction of the Silva Arduenna. **si posset**, 'to see if he could'; so c. 37. 4, *si reperire possent.*

5. **eius adventus**: iv. 16. 7. **subsequi**, so *facere*, ii. 32. 3 *n.* Caesar was in fact already on his march.

30.—2. **multum potest fortuna**: Liv. 9. 17. 3, *fortuna per omnia humana, maxime in rebus bellicis potens.* Caesar often dwells on the importance of good fortune, *e.g.*, c. 35, 42, 43. **magno casu**, 'a great chance,' as it was only by a remarkable concurrence that this surprise of Ambiorix was possible. *Bell. Civ.* iii. 14. 3, the same phrase occurs, and cp. *magnae fortunae* here. **etiam**, 'as yet,' of time, as c. 43. 4, *nec etiam*='not yet.' **fortunae**: for the gen. cp. v. 49. 6, *erat magni periculi.*

3, 4. 'But it (the escape of Ambiorix) was caused by this also, that...' **hoc**, abl. [not nomin., in which case *quoque* would have no sense]. **fere**: c. 14. 3, **propinquitates**, so *siccitates*, iv. 38. 2 *n.* **ad subeundum, vitandum**, sc. *Ambiorigi.*

31.—1. **iudicio**, 'from deliberate choice'; causal abl., as v. 27. 3. **ne...an**: Roby, § 2254. **existimavit**: the perf. gives this statement without any reference to its being or not being contemporaneous with any other verb, whereas **cum crederet**='thinking' at the time the Romans came up.

2, 3. **continentes**, 'continuous'; iii. 28, *continentes silvas ac paludes habebant.* **insulis**, districts cut off by the high tide, hence the force of **efficere**, corresponding to the *aestuaria* of the Nervii, ii. 28 [not 'dunes'].

5. **precibus**, 'imprecations'; Ov. *Met.* 15. 505, *hostilique caput prece detestatur euntis.* **detestari**, 'curse.' **taxo**, 'yew'; Plin. *Hist. N.* 16. 10, *letale quippe baccis, in Hispania praecipue, venenum adest.* [The last sentence of the chapter is worth noting for the clear arrangement of its subordinate clauses.]

32.—1. **Segni Condrusique**, ii. 4. 10. **Germanorum qui sunt**, the *Germani Cisrhenani* of c. 2. 3. **nihil**, 'in no way,' as i. 40. 12; ii. 20. 4, *nihil Caesaris imperium exspectabant.*

4. **Titurius**, c. 37. 8; v. 24 f. Note that Caesar, having more than once mentioned the place, here first *names* it. **reliquis rebus**, 'on other grounds.' Cic. *de Leg.* 3. 9. 22, *Pompeium nostrum ceteris rebus omnibus semper amplissimis summisque effero laudibus.* So *omnibus rebus*, iii. 17. 5. **manebant**, not *manserant*, because they *still* were in this condition. **proxime conscriptas**, c. i. 4.

33.—1–3. **partito**, c. 6. 1 *n.* **ire** = 'march,' often in Caesar, *e.g.*, i. 26, v. 18, vii. 62.

4, 5. **post** (prep.) **diem vii.**, *on* the 7th day after'; see iv. 1. 9 *n.* This explains c. 35. 1, *dies appetebat septimus, quem ad diem reverti constituerat.* [There is an attraction like that used in expressing dates, *e.g.*, i. 1. 5, *ante diem quintum Kal. Apr.* = the 5th day before the Kalends; Roby, § 1181.] **quam ad diem**, 'by which day'; see i. 6. 4 *n.* **in praesidio**, 'as garrison.' So *in praesidio esse* (*haberi*), *e.g.*, *Bell. Civ.* i. 15. 5, *sex cohortibus, quas ibi in praesidio habuerat.* **relinquebatur**, sc. at Caesar's departure, so not = *relicta erat.* **rei publicae commodo**, i. 35. 4: v. 46. 4.

34.—1. **supra**, c. 31. **manus certa**, *i.e.*, a definite force in a definite place; cp. ii. 22. 1, *certa subsidia.* **praesidium**, 'a fortified post held by troops'; *Bell. Civ.* 3. 36. 6, *neque se praesidium, ubi constitutus esset, sine auxilio tenere posse.*

3. **vicinitatibus**, 'the neighbours,' abstract for concrete, being the reversal of the usual Latin rule. Cic. *Verr.* 4. 44. 96, *signum quod erat notum vicinitati;* Nepos *Alc.* 10. 4, *vicinitati negotium dant.* **non in summa exercitūs tuenda**, 'not in protecting the army as a whole.' *Bell. Civ.* i. 67. 5, *etsi aliquo accepto detrimento, tamen summa exercitūs salva.* **ab** follows *accido* as i. 20, *a Caesare accidisset.* **ex parte** gets its emphatic position between *quae* and *res* (c. 21. 2 *n.*) from being opposed to *ad salutem exercitus* (= the whole army).

4, 5. **nam** gives the reason of *magnam res diligentiam requirebat.* **adire prohibebant**, ii. 4. 2 *n.* **sceleratorum**: cp. § 8, *facinore.* The guilt consisted in their passion for freedom; see also v. 26 ff., 36, 37.

6. **continere ad signa manipulos** (Intr. §§ 2, 27), opposed to *dimittere plures manus* and *diducere*. If Caesar wanted to get at the enemy at all he could only do it by breaking up his force in many very small divisions; if he kept his solid formation, even if, as a whole, they would be afraid to attack him, yet in some cases their attack would be made under circumstances in the last degree unfavourable to the Romans. **instituta,** 'established.'

7. **ut in,** 'so far as was possible,' *ut* with a limiting force, as in iv. 3. 3, *ampla atque florens, ut est captus;* Cic. *Brut.* 26. 102, *scriptor fuit, ut temporibus illis, luculentus.* The adj. in the principal clause, which *ut* usually limits, is here represented by the adverbial expression *quantum diligentia provideri poterat=quam diligentissime.* So ὡς in Greek, Thuc. 4. 84, *οὐδὲ ἀδύνατος, ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιος, εἰπεῖν.*

8. **evocat**: c. 35. 4, *omnes ad praedam evocari.* **legionarius miles,** short for what? **magnus...convenit.** This sentence gives, with a brevity to which the asyndeton adds vigour, the result of Caesar's appeal.

35.—2. **possit, afferat,** present subj., the sense being general, and not limited to any particular time.

4–6. **ultro,** 'and, what was more': v. 28. 4. **supra**: iv. 16. 2. **milibus,** abl. of difference, due to the comparative force of *infra;* cp. c. 28. 1, *paulo infra elephantos.* **ubi pons erat**: c. 9. 3. **perfectus,** 'constructed'; vii. 56. 1, *in perficiendis pontibus.*

8, 9. **atque,** 'thereupon (said),' marking a step to a more important part of the narrative. **fortunatissimos**: as a rule, when *licet* has a dat. of the person expressed, the complement is also in the dative. But cp. *Bell. Civ.* iii. 1. 1, *ei consulem fieri liceret;* Cic. *p. Balb.* 12. 29, *quod si civi Romano licet esse Gaditanum.* Roby, 1357 (*c*) note, quotes other exceptions. **tantum,** 'so *small* a garrison'; *Bell. Civ.* iii. 2. 2, *tantum navium reperit, ut anguste xv. milia...transportare possent.* **cingi,** 'manned.'

36.—1. **Cicero** subject to *mittit.* **qui,** 'whereas he,'=a concessive clause. **praeceptis,** i. 50. 1 *n.* **in castris continere (tenere),** as iv. 34; *Bell. Civ.* i. 66. 2; *intra castra,* v. 58; *Bell. Civ.* iii. 76. Elsewhere usually without a preposition, as i. 40. 48; ii. 11; iii. 17. **quemquam,** adjectival; cp. the use of *nemo=nullus* in vii. 66.

2. **illius patientia**; strictly speaking, it was not the 'tolerance' of Cicero, but the state of things brought about by it which could amount to *obsessio*. Liv. 10. 11, *ut nemo extra munimenta egredi auderet timorque ipsorum obsidioni similis esset.* **novem legionibus**, c. 33. 1–3. **offendi**, impersonal; 'expecting no event such that by means of it any harm could be sustained within 3 miles (of his camp), with 9 legions and a large body of horse fronting him, and the enemy scattered, nay almost annihilated.' Cp. *Bell. Civ.* iii. 72. 4, *quotiens culpā ducis esset offensum.* **in**, 'within a distance of.' In reading Caesar's elaborate statement one cannot help remembering the proverb, *qui s'excuse s'accuse* See notes on 41. 3, 42. 1.

3. **ex legionibus**: as these *veteres milites* (c. 40. 4) did not come from any one legion, the convalescents did not join the 5 cohorts of Cicero's legion, but formed, under a vexillum, a special detachment called *vexillarii;* Intr. § 27. 6. **subsederant**, 'had stayed behind'; elsewhere in Caesar either *resistere* or *subsistere.*

37.—1. **hoc ipso tempore et casu**, 'just at this time and crisis.' **Germani equites**, v. 48. 3. **decumana porta**, ii. 24. 2.

2. **priusquam posset**, the subj., although no purpose is implied, as iii. 26. 3; Roby, § 1674. **mercatores**: the merchants who followed the army to buy the booty from the soldiers and supply them with the means of life had their place *sub vallo, i.e.*, outside the camp. **tendebant**, sc. *tentoria*, 'were encamped'; so σκηνοῦν; cp. Verg. *A.* 2. 29, *hic saevus tendebat Achilles.* **recipiendi sui**, iii. 6. 1.

3, 4. **inopinantes**, iv. 4. 5 *n.* **in statione**=*quae in statione erat* of c. 38. 3, 'the cohort on guard.' **si**, 'to try if,' c. 29. 4. **circumfunduntur**, middle=*circumfundunt se.*

5, 6. **reliquos aditus**, 'all other means of approach,' *i.e.*, other than the four regular camp doors. *Bell. Civ.* ii. 35, *sed loci natura et munitio castrorum aditum prohibebant.* **alius ex alio**, 'each of his neighbour.' **conveniat**, 'each is to go in order to combine with the rest.' [Caesar does not directly use any terms of blaming, but does do so indirectly; cp. c. 41. 3.]

7, 8. **deleto** applies strictly to *exercitu* rather than *imperatore;* cp. iii. 31. 1. **novas religiones fingunt**, 'many form strange superstitious fancies from the place itself.' **calami-**

tatem, c. 32. 4; v. 26. ff. **qui occiderint**, subj. in virtual *oratio obliqua*, 'who (*so thought the soldiers*) fell,' etc. It was not just there that the actual disaster took place; see v. 37.

38.—1. **Baculus**, ii. 25, iii. 5. **primum duxerat ordinem**, Intr. § 20, obs. 1. **ad**, 'with,' 'in the army of.' **superioribus** (ii. 25, iii. 5) **proeliis**, 'in (my account of) earlier fights.'

3, 4, 5. **consequuntur**, 'follow *close* after him.' **animus**, 'consciousness'; we say 'Sextius faints.' **per manus**, 'from hand to hand.' **sese confirmant**, ii. 19. 6 *n.*

39. **hic vero** = *tum vero*. **quid praecipiatur**, 'what order *will be* issued,' iii. 24. 1 *n.* **nemo est** (*i.e.*, on this one occasion) **quin** ('so as not to be' = *qui non*); Roby, § 1688.

40.—1–3. **calones**, Intr. § 23. **deiecti**, 'dislodged.' **in signa manipulosque**, 'into the lines and companies'; cp. 34. 6; Intr. § 27. 1. **cuneo facto**, Intr. § 15. 4. **censent ut**, 'vote that'; so *placuit ut*, i. 34; cp. the formula expressing the vote of the senate, i. 35. 4. **at**, 'yet, at least.'

4, 5. **inter se cohortati**, iv. 25. 5. **ad unum omnes**, iv. 15. 3. **militum**, 'the foot,' as opposed to the *calones equitesque*, i. 48.

6. **hunc**: we should expect *tunc;* but Caesar 'depicts the scene as if it were even now present'; so *hunc etiam*, vii. 62. **usu percepto**, 'having gained no experience'; *Bell. Civ.* iii. 84. 3, *qui cotidiana consuetudine usum quoque eius generis proeliorum perciperent.* This inexperience is mentioned (in c. 39. 2 also) as an excuse. **ut se defenderent**, added to explain *eo consilio;* see 1. 5. 1 *n.* **vim celeritatemque**, attracted into the relative clause; Hor. *Sat.* i. 10. 16, *illi scripta quibus comoedia prisca viris est, hoc stabant;* Munro on Lucret., i. 15; Ter. *Eun.* 653, *eunuchum, quem dedisti nobis, quas turbas dedit;* Roby, § 1067. One se is omitted (as both *recipere* and *demiserunt* require it); cp. ii. 3. 2 *n.* The position of *se* makes the omission easier.

7, 8. **ex inferioribus ordinibus**: from the lower cohorts of their former legions they had been promoted to higher places in their new legions; Intr. § 20.

41.—1, 2. **quam deposuerant**, c. 35. 10. **ac**, iii. 15. 3 *n.* **Volusenum**, iii. 5, iv. 21. **fidem facere**, 'gain credence'; v. 41, *Ambiorigem ostentant fidei faciundae causa; Bell. Civ.* ii. 37. 1, *aliquamdiu fides fieri non poterat.* But

the phrase usually = 'give security,' as iv. 11. 3. **Caesarem,** so placed for emphasis, c. 34. 3 *n.*

3. **paene** in Cicero and Caesar usually *precedes* the word which it qualifies; but Hirtius viii. 40, *totum paene montem.* **ex,** 'from' (not 'after'); as ii. 12, *ex fuga Suessionum multitudo in oppidum convenit;* vii. 20, *turpiter se ex fuga recipientem.* Elsewhere the phrase *ex fuga se recipere* has quite another meaning. **incolumi exercitu,** '*the Germans would not have attacked the camp if the army had been safe*' (abl. abs = a conditional clause). It is remarkable that Cicero, who is so highly praised in book v. (40. 7 *n.*, 52. 2–4), and who must have taken an active part in these events, is not once mentioned; this, of course, by way of indirect blame. Caesar wished to spare him as far as he could in consideration of these services.

42.—1. **eventus,** 'the chances of war,' acc. pl. **unum questus:** see last note of c. 41. **statione,** 'the post' entrusted to his charge. **praesidio,** the place which he had to defend. Caesar uses the two words in order to give prominence to the desertion by the soldier of his post. **casu** = *casui.* **locum relinqui,** v. 52.

2, 3. **amplius,** 'much more still.' **quarum rerum,** with the neuter *admirandum,* as *quarum rerum nihil,* iii. 4. 3 *n.;* cp. v. 1. 7.

43.—1, 2. **dimittit** requires an object to be supplied, *eum* (or *eos*) from *magno numero;* cp. iv. 21. 6 *n.*, vii. 5, *convocatis suis clientibus facile* (*eos*) *incendit;* vii. 29, *concilio convocato consolatus est* (*id, eos*). **vici, aedificia,** i. 5. 2. **conspexerat, incendebatur,** both of *repeated* action; cp. iii. 14. 6 *n.;* v. 34. 3 *n,* etc.

3. The corn had owing to the fighting been allowed to stand too long, and the autumn rains had beaten it down.

4. **in eum locum,** 'to that point.' **diviso,** 'sent in small bodies'; Liv. 37. 45, *consul in hiberna exercitum Magnesiam et Tralles Ephesumque divisit* (=*divisum misit*). **in fuga,** with *Ariovistum,* on the analogy of *ex essedis pugna,* iv. 33 *n.* **nec plane etiam** = *necdum plane.*

5. **ut** (with *spe*), not like the first *ut* dependent on *in eum locum ventum est,* but on the whole of the foregoing sentence, and = *adeo ut.* **ab Caesare,** because *inituros* contains a passive sense. **paulum,** 'only a little.' **felicitatem,** viz., the capture of Ambiorix.

44.—**damno,** 'with the loss,' abl. of manner, like *reipublicae commodo*, i. 35. 4; v. 46. 4. **de coniuratione**: for this conspiracy cp. c. 4. **princeps,** 'ringleader.' **more maiorum**: what this punishment might be may be gathered from viii. 38, where Gutruatus is described as being whipped to death and beheaded. **ut instituerat** (= *ut quotannis facere consuerat*, v. 1.1); see c. 3. 4. **ad conventus agendos,** 'to hold the assizes'; i. 54. 3.

BOOK VII.

THE SEVENTH YEAR OF THE WAR, B.C. 52.

[As this year is the bloodiest and most perilous in the whole war, this book is the most important of all in its contents.]

1.—**1. quieta Gallia.** The phrase is often used by Caesar almost euphemistically (ii. 35. 1; iii. 28. 1, *omni Gallia pacata*; v. 58. 7, *paulo habuit quietiorem Galliam*). After years of fighting, Caesar had only succeeded in attaining temporary vantage ground, and had not effected a lasting submission. The universal rising organized this year under the leadership of Vercingetorix, the ablest of Gallic generals, placed all former conquests again in question. The execution of Acco had roused the whole body of Keltic nobles. Caesar was kept at a distance by the imminent civil war and separated from the forces collected on the Upper Seine; a general insurrection had therefore, more than ever, a prospect of success. **cognoscit** ('receives information,' i. 42. 1) **de Clod. caede**: Clodius was killed by Milo, January 20th, B.C. 52. This occurrence increased the fury of the parties at Rome, and as the Senate in its panic could not choose consuls, it empowered Pompey, who continued in the neighbourhood of Rome (vi. 1. 2), to watch over the safety of the Republic and to raise troops throughout Italy. Caesar also began a levy of troops in Upper Italy; of those only a supplement (c. 7. 5) came to Gaul, to fill up the losses among the troops, for according to c. 34. 2, he had there still *ten* legions. **ut...coniurarent** depends on *senatus consulto*; *con iurare*, 'to take the oath *together*,' instead of singly, so as to accelerate the levy. **iuniores,** those of age for military service, including roughly those who were between seventeen and forty-six years old.

2. **addunt**, 'of their own accord the Gauls, by imaginary rumours, add what the state of things appear to render necessary, namely, that Caesar,' etc. That Caesar was detained in Italy was not actually reported to the Gauls, but they concluded it; *Bell. Civ.* i. 53. 2, *multa rumor affingebat, ut paene bellum confectum videretur.*

3. **qui** with subj., causal, as in v. 4. 4, 33. 2.

4. **indictis...principes...con.** Notice the order of words, as in ii. 11. 2; v. 49. 4. **Acco**, vi. 4. and 44. **hunc casum**, as Dumnorix had feared (v. 6. 5), Caesar might *omnem Galliam nobilitate spoliare,*

5. **periculo**, 'at the peril'; so *damno*, vi. 44. 1.

6. **rationem...habendam**, 'they must take care,' the more usual *videndum eius rei* being omitted; Cic. *ad Fam.* iii. 5. 1, *didici...te...habuisse rationem ut mihi consuleres.* **eorum**, not *sua*, because the words are Caesar's; cp. i. 6. 3, 11. 3.

7. **id esse...possit.** Caesar himself states the reasons, c. 6. 2-4. **sine praesidio**, *i.e.*, without such a force as would bring him safe to the main body.

2.—2. **in praesentia**, i. 15. 3 *n.* **obsidibus**, abl., as vi. 2. 2. The object of giving hostages is contained in the words *ne res efferatur.* **iureiurando ac fide**, 'by oath and pledged word.' **quo** may either agree with *more* or stand separate = 'whereby'; joining *more eorum* as at v. 56. 2, *hoc more Gallorum est initium belli.* In Caesar, whereas the circumlocution with *res* is common, the use of the neuter of pronouns used substantively in the ablative is extremely rare, cp. *e.g.*, *ex quo*, i. 40. 6; *ex eo quod*, iv. 31. 1. The oath by the standards resembles the *armatum concilium*, v. 56. 1; but the secret meeting here described is distinct from that.

3.—1. **Gutruato**, viii. 38. 3, he is called *princeps sceleris illius et concitator.* **negotiandi**, Roman *equites* [the merchant class] often resided in the provinces, partly to lend out their money on interest, in places where they were not restricted by usury laws as in Rome, partly to buy up corn; partly also as farmers of the tolls and taxes; Cic. *p. Font.* 5. 11, *referta Gallia negotiatorum est, plena civium Romanorum; nemo Gallorum sine cive Romano quicquam negotii gerit; numus in Gallia nullus sine civium Romanorum tabulis commovetur.* **constiterant**, 'had settled down'; technical term for sojourner, in contrast with (1) ordinary citizens, (2) mere travellers. **honestum**, 'worthy,' 'respectable.'

2. **incidit**, for tense cp. iv. i. 5 *n.* **clamore**, '*non multorum conclamatione, sed unius, quasi praeconis,*' Hotemann. Watch towers on raised mounds must have been used for the purpose.

3. **quae gesta essent**, 'things which happened.' Concessive, almost = '*although* they had happened,' vi. 36. 1. [If *gesta essent* had been the conjunctive of indirect question, *auditum est* must have stood.]

4.—1. **convocatis...incendit**, vi. 43. 1 *n.*

2. **fortunam temptare** occurs also at i. 36. 3; v. 55. 2; in this passage **hanc** calls attention to the particular undertaking, whereby fortune was or was not to be tempted.

3. **atque**, we should rather expect 'but'; cp. iv. 35. 2. **habet**, for change of tense cp. c. 12. 1; iv. 18. 3; v. 49. 7.

4, 5. **civitate**, used like πόλις of a whole district. **quoqueversus**, iii. 23. 2.

8. **quodque** (= *et quod*) **ante tempus**, 'before (*i.e.*, up to) what time'; = *quam ante diem* of 31. 4. **efficiat**, 'furnish.'

14. **necat**, sc. *eos qui commiserant;* see vi. 43. 1 *n.* **documento**, predicative dative. [Vercingetorix had good reason to deal sternly with treachery and slackness. But it was respect for his great qualities as a leader rather than dread of his severity which drew his army to him.]

5.—1. **Vercingetorix**, lying between the Roman legions and the Province, had a double meaning in sending to the Ruteni, viz., to fan the flame of the revolt, so as to keep Caesar at a distance, and cover his own rear.

2. **adventu**, both temporal and causal, 'on and because of his arrival'; § 7, *eorum discessu;* cp. ii. 7. 2; iii. 23. 4 *nn.* **quorum...in fide**, 'under whose protection'; vi. 4. 2.

3. **copias eq. peditatusque**, v. 47. 5 *n.*

5. **revertuntur...revertisse.** No *reverto* is found, nor *reversus sum.*

6. **proponendum**, 'set forth,' 'clearly stated.' The Aedui, who had hitherto been loyal, are now under suspicion.

6.—1. **virtute**, 'energy,' 'decision.' Pompey had the consulship given him February 25th, and allayed the tumult which followed upon the murder of Clodius. On the bearing of this passage on the date of the composition of the commentaries, see Introd., p. xxxi.

2. **difficultate.** His embarrassment was caused by the fact that he did not know *qua ratione*, etc. The construction is like that of iv. 14. 2. Caesar was without an army, but saw that no time was to be lost and that he himself must open the campaign. There were indeed eight legions in the neighbourhood of the enemy; but the *legati*, panic-stricken by the disaster of Titurius, did not venture on independent action or on a combined movement.

4. **committi**, would be intrusted; so *vado transitur*, i. 6. 2 *n*.

7.—3. **antevertere**, with dat. = to take in hand and prosecute one thing before another; thus here Caesar (hitherto doubtful) now thought that before all other plans he should attempt this, viz., *ut N. proficisceretur*. So Plaut. *Bacch.* 584 uses the deponent, *rebus aliis antevertar...Mnesilochum ut requiram.* Elsewhere *antevertere* = 'anticipate.'

4. **Rutenis provincialibus**, because a part of the tribe belonging to 'the province.'

8.—1. 'When Lucterius was checked by these tactics.' On the double abls. (which are not co-ordinate) see ii. 11. 5, 26. 3; iii. 24. 2.

4. **haec fama et nuntii** = *haec fama et hi nuntii;* also *haec fama* = *huius rei fama* (v. 19. 2 *n*.). *Haec*, referring to both *fama* and *nuntii*, is scarcely more harsh than iv. 24. 4, *eadem alacritate ac studio; Bell. Civ.* ii. 18. 5, *magna cum misericordia fletuque.* (See Crit. App.)

9.—1. **de Vercingetorige**: 'he had already formed an opinion that things would actually (*usu*) so fall out for V.' On *de* consult v. 53. 4 and the quotations there. [*Bell. Civ.* ii. 17. 3, *quae acciderant de.*] **per causam**, 'under the pretext' [*causa* always in Caesar of a *pretended* reason]. In reality Caesar meant to join his legions, but as the success of this plan depended on his true intention remaining secret as long as possible, he uses this pretext.

2. **Hunc monet, ut**: he instructs Brutus, and Brutus is to see the cavalry carry out the orders. The same phrase is used iii. 26. 1. **longius**, of time, iv. 1. 7 *n*.

4. **recentem**, 'in recruited strength,' as the cavalry had arrived somewhat earlier. **si quid...consilii**, 'in case any plan was being entertained against his personal safety by the

Aedui also.' It is hinted in c. 5. 6 that the Aedui had neglected to hinder the revolt of the Bituriges. **etiam**, to be taken with *Aeduis*. [*De sua salute* is certainly not to be referred to the safety (freedom) of the Aedui.]

5. **priusquam**, with the conjunctive, although no purpose is implied; Roby, § 1674. On the conj. see iii. 26. 3. His purpose of directing their attention to one point, in order to arrive at another unexpectedly, was attained, and it became possible to concentrate the entire army before the suspected provincials, through whose land his route lay, and Vercingetorix became aware of his determination. Flor. iii. 10. 22, *ante in media Gallia fuit quam ab ultima timeretur.*

6. **quos...collocaverat**, i. 28. 5.

10.—1. **ad**, 'in the way of,' ii. 25. 1 *n.* **ne**, 'from fear that,' depends on the notion of fear contained in *difficultas*; cp. 35. 1. **stipendiarii**, viz., the Boii, i. 28. 5 *n.* **expugnare aliquem** (ἐκπολιορκεῖν τινα) is found only here in Caesar, not at all in Cicero and Sallust, and is not common in prose till after Livy. **eo**=Caesar. **ab re frum.**, 'in respect of.' **duris** (difficult because of the winter) **subvectionibus**. The abl. explains the reason of *laborare*.

2. **tamen**, 'none the less'=*nihilominus*.

11.—**oppugnare...idque...circumvallavit.** As the acc. of the object *id* stands only with the second verb, either (1) *oppugnare* is used absolutely, or (2) *id* must be understood twice, as *Bell. Civ.* iii. 21. 4, *eo in Italiam evocato...sibi coniunxit atque e u m praemisit.*

3. **conficeret**, 'to see to the whole business'; cp. i. 3. 2, *ad eas res c o n f i c i e n d a s.* **iter faceret**, upon Vercingetorix to Gorgobina.

4. **quod eo mitterent** might be more concisely expressed *praesidium, quod Cenabum mitterent, c o m p a r a b a n t.* **praesidium**, 'relief force'; translate as if the sentence ran *quod Carnutes eius tuendae causa mitterent.*

5. **quae...sint imperat**, condensed for *quae usui sint exponit eaque imperat*, hence the mood of *sint*; so c. 16. 2, *quid fieri vellet imperabat.*

6. Cp. vi. 29. 2, *ultimam partem pontis quae ripas Ubiorum contingebat.*

8. **quin** follows *perpaucis...desideratis* from the notion *non multum aberat* contained in them.

12. **oppugnatione**, of Gorgobina. **proficiscitur**: note the change of tense; cp. 4. 3.

2. **ille**, Caesar.

5. **atque**, immediately after *simul atque*, as at iii. 9. 7.

6. **in oppido** = *qui in oppido erant;* vi. 37. 3, *cohors in statione.* **ex signif. Gallorum**, *i.e*, 'from their general demeanour.' **omn. incolumes** is to be referred as acc. to *suos;* the *pauci milites* of § 4 are meant.

13.—1. **Germanos**, v. 48. 3 *n.* The German cavalry distinguished themselves in every engagement; see cc. 70 and 80. **instituerat**, vi. 3. 4 *n.*

3. **Biturigum** = the territory inhabited by them; the close connection with *Biturigum* causes the omission of the preposition; ii. 4. 6 *n.*

14.—2. Too late the Gauls learnt by experience to fight in a more suitable way, viz., by guerilla warfare, wherein their superiority in cavalry could assert itself.

5. **vici**, 'hamlets'; **aedificia**, 'isolated buildings.' **hoc spatio**: the devastation was to reach on all sides as far from the route by which the Romans were advancing as the Roman foragers could go. The adv. *quo* is to be referred to *hoc spatio.* **ab via**, Crit. App. **quoqueversus**, iii. 23. 2 *n.*

7. **inop. non laturos** = they would die of famine, if they did not venture on a farther departure from the main body; accordingly *aut...aut* is quite correct. In the second clause *magno cum periculo* (*only* with great danger) is the leading idea.

8. **ipsosne...impedimentisne**: this form of double question is very rare in classical prose; Caesar uses it only here. In like manner **neu...neu**, corresponding to each other like *neque ...neque*(= *ne aut...aut*) is rare. *Bell. Civ.* i. 76. 1, *neu se neu Pompeium absentem tradant, obsecrat;* Cic. *de Off.* i. 39. 141, *ut neve maior, neve minor cura suscipiatur.*

9. **praeterea**, etc., 'furthermore, all such towns should be burnt as are not secured against all danger by their defences or by natural position, to prevent either their serving as refuges to their own troops (for shirking military service), or their proving handy for the Romans to seize on supplies of provisions or booty.'

10. **gravius aestimare**: scil. *se;* Vercingetorix puts forward his own opinion as likely to influence others. With the

adv. *gravius* thus used cp. *Bell. Civ.* iii. 26. 4, *levius periculum aestimaverunt ;* Cic. *Verr.* iv. 16. 35, *iussit Timarchidem aestimare argentum. Quo modo? quo qui unquam t e n u i s s i m e in donationem histrionum aestimavit.*

15.—1. **amplius**, i. 15. 5 *n.* **urbes**=*oppida*, but more rarely in Caesar than the latter word. Only Rome is always called *urbs.*

2. **explorata**, 'assured'; iii. 18. 8.

4. **Bituriges**, *i.e.*, through their ambassadors.

6. **precibus**, 'both in consequence of the prayers of the Bituriges (*precibus* cannot be dat.) and of the compassion and sympathy of the multitude,' viz., of the rest of the Gauls (*volgi* is subjective gen., as c. 28. 6). Vercingetorix opposed the measure as fearing that this one exception would render useless the sacrifice of so many towns (see 30. 2). **oppido** is not to be taken with *idonei.*

16.—1, 2. **longe**, 'at a distance'; v. 47. 5. **certos**, 'fixed'; a regular service of scouts is established. **in s. diei tempora**, 'hourly.' On the mood of **vellet** cp. 11. 5 *n.*

3. **necessario**, 'of necessity'; not to be connected with *longius.* The conj. can be justified, as at i. 25. 3, by giving a causal meaning; but passages such as iii. 21. 1 prove that Caesar sometimes uses the conj. instead of the usual indic. (see iii. 4. 2 *n.*) in purely temporal clauses which express repeated action. **ratione**, 'craft,' 'strategy.' **ut iretur** ('in such a way that,' etc.) explains *occurrebatur* so as to give the plan of the counter-manœuvre.

17.—1. **castris...positis C., quae** : notice the order ; just as Caesar is fond of placing the chief subject between the parts of an abl. absolute (ii. 11. 2), so here he brings it close to them, and places it between the abls. and the relative sentence connected with them. Cp. the position of *Caesar*, c. 19. 4. **intermissa**, 'left open by the river and marshes,' which otherwise surround the town. **aggerem**, siege material to make an earthwork; Introd. § 30. **vineas, turres**, ii. 12. 3, 30. 3, **prohibebat**, followed by the inf. ; ii. 4. 2 *n.*

2. **non magnis fac.**, abl. of attendant circumstances, as in 10. 1, *duris subvectionibus.*

3. **caruerint...sustentarent** : the perf. conj. denotes a definite historical fact (='so that the corn failed them'; iii. 15.

5; v. 15. 1), whereas the impf. regards the *sustentare* as a continued action; Madv. § 382, obs. 4.

4. On the place in the sentence of **Caesar** cp. iv. 11. 1.

7. **quam non...parentarent**: *parentare* would be more regular, as in 10. 2. The change in construction is due to the writer keeping in sight the sense rather than the syntax. In *oratio recta* he would have said *parentemus*. Cp. Corn. Nep. *Hamilc.* 1. 5, *ut ipse periturum se potius dixerit, quam cum tanto flagitio domum rediret* (Weissenborn on Liv. ii. 15. 2 gives many instances of the conj. with and without *ut* after *potius quam*). *Parento* = originally 'to make sacrifice in honour of dead parents.'

18.—1. **qui...consuessent**: for details of his mode of fighting see i. 48. 4–7.

2. **silentio**, abl. of the manner.

4. **sarcinas conferri**: when a battle was imminent the baggage was carried off and piled up. **expediri**, 'got ready for action.'

19.—1. **collis** = the *locus editus et apertus* of c. 18. **difficilis**, 'hard to cross'; *Bell. Civ.* i. 78. 2, *valles maximae ac difficillimae; ib.* iii. 37. 3, *rivus difficilibus ripis* (explained at iii. 75. 4, *ripis...impeditis*). **non latior pedibus**, i. 22. 1. **pontibus interruptis**, 'having broken down the causeways.' According to v. Göler (i. 247), the camp of the Gauls lay near Mehun-sur-Yèvre.

2. **generatim**: as to the facts in question see i. 51. 2; vii. 36. 2. **saltus** can scarcely apply to this swamp, 50 feet wide, but rather = the wooded approaches to the height; *eius paludis* is then a later explanation of *vada* added by the copyists. **sic parati, ut**, 'resolved to,' etc.; see § 5; vii. 28. 1, *equites praemittit sic paratos ut confligerent.* **haesitantes**, 'if they (the Romans) continued to stick in the morass.'

3. **ut** = *ita ut*. The sense is: any one who looked only at the proximity of the two forces must have thought that the Gauls were ready for battle, without having any special advantage (*prope aequo Marte*); but whoever saw thoroughly the inequality of the position of the two armies must have recognized that the Gauls only offered battle because they knew that Caesar would not accept the offer on account of their unassailable position (§ 2, *fiducia loci*). Their apparent readi-

ness to fight was therefore *inanis simulatio.* **qui perspiceret**: insert a ' but ' in translating ; the Latin prefers the *asyndeton.*

4. On the position of the word **Caesar** see 17. 1 *n.* **morte**, ' by the sacrifice,' as we should say.

5. **sua salute**, ' more than his own personal safety ' ; not that there was any question here of a choice between the sacrifice of the life of the soldiers and his own ; rather, by the use of a strong expression, the high value which Caesar attaches to the preservation of such valiant and devoted troops is brought into prominence.

6. **oppidi**, emphatically placed, so as to contrast with the abandoned undertaking against the height.

20.—1. **quod...quod...quod**: the *Anaphora* gives prominence to the separate items of the complaint. **eius discessu**, v. 2 *n.* **sine imp.**, ' without any person in command,' is explained in § 5, *summam...tradidisse.*

2. **concessu**, v. 27. 1. **tali modo accusatus**, after the long parenthesis, resumes the principal sentence ; in such a case *igitur* or *inquam* often stands.

3. **quod**, ' as to the fact that,' etc ; i. 13. 5, *quod adortus esset.* **persuasum**, neuter ; supply *sibi*, answering to the preceding *factum.*

4. **neque**, answered by **et**, as at ii. 25. 1 ; v. 19. 3, 31. 5 ; vii. 26. 2. So Greek *οὔτε...τε* ; Xen. *Anab.* 2. 2. 8, *ὤμοσαν μήτε προδώσειν ἀλλήλους σύμμαχοί τε ἔσεσθαι.*

7. **imperium** = *regnum Galliae*, 20. 2. Accordingly in the words *quod habere victoria posset* the exclusively Roman custom is not to be thought of, whereby the army after a victory proclaims the general *imperator ;* but *habere* is to be understood of the enduring and assured possession of the *imperium*, which could be secured only by a decisive victory over Caesar. **explorata**, iii. 18. 8. **remittere**, ' relinquish or give back ' the *imperium*, which they had given him. *Bell. Civ.* ii. 32. 14, *vos me imperatoris nomine appellavistis, cuius si vos paenitet, vestrum vobis beneficium remitto.* **videantur**, supply *sibi ;* on the change of tense see i. 7. 3.

10. **si possent**, ' to see if they could ' ; vii. 29. 4.

12. **haec, inquit, a me, Ver.** For order of words cp. v. 30. 1, *vincite, inquit, si ita vultis, Sabinus.* **a me** is by this order strongly emphasized = ' from me, whom you have unjustly accused.' **se ex fuga recipientem**, ' seeking refuge *in* flight ' ; vi. 41. 3

21.—1. **suo more.** So also among the Germans; Tac *Germ.* 11, *si displicuit sententia, fremitu aspernantur; sin placuit, frameas concutiunt; honoratissimum assensus genus est armis laudare.* **in eo**, 'in the case of one.' **nec...nec**: the former *nec* is not to be explained as in i. 36. 5 and iii. 3. 2, = *et neque*, but it belongs immediately to *summum esse V. ducem*, and is a negative extension of that sentiment, while *nec posse* is added as something new; cp. *Bell. Civ.* i. 44. 4, *ipse autem suos ordines servare neque* ('and not') *ab signis discedere, neque sine gravi causa eum locum...dimitti censuerant oportere.* **ratione**, 'wisdom.'

3. **quod paene...intellegebant**, 'because they understood that their ultimate triumph rested almost entirely on this, namely, the successful defence of the town.' For the phrase cp. *Bell. Civ.* iii. 89. 3, *victoriam in earum cohortium virtute constare.* On **summa** = 'the general safety,' cp. *Bell. Civ.* i. 82. 3, *quod spatii brevitas...non multum ad summam victoriae iuvare poterat.* [See Crit. App.]

[Caesar now returns to the account of the siege of Avaricum begun in c. 17.]

22.—1. **quoque**, in our idiom 'any one,' as at iv. 5. 2, *quid quisque eorum audierit;* Cic. *Verr.* i. 7. 19, *ut quisque me viderat, narrabat.* **quisque** (as distinguished from *omnes*) lays especial emphasis, refers to a *particular* case in point.

2. **laqueis falces avert.**: they caught hold of the wall-hooks (*falces murales*, iii. 14. 5), diverted their aim, and drew them by windlasses or twisted ropes into the town. **destinaverant**, 'had tightly grasped,' = *laqueo prehensas figebant, immotas tenebant, ne possent muro immitti.* **cum dest....reducebant**, iii. 4. 2, 14. 6; v. 34. 2. **aggerem**, by means of mines they contrived that the mound on which the towers stood should sink in. **ferrariae**, as among the Aquitani, iii. 21. 3.

3. **murum...turribus contab.** = *contabulatis turribus instruxerant.* The *contabulatio* is said to be done to the wall, because each separate tower was built in storeys (ii. 30. 3; v. 40. 6), and the whole wall was provided with these towers.

4. The **agger** was not wholly made of earth and stones, but a good deal of wood work as well, so that it could be set on fire. Intr. § 30.

5. **commissis...malis**: they raised their towers as high as those of the Romans by making regular storeys of the bare scaffolding, which they erected higher than the more solid and

completed work. On *committere* cp. Liv. 38. 4. 8, *per nondum commissa inter se munimenta.* According to others *committere malos*=to connect the beams, set them on each other, so as to raise the height. **apertos cuniculos,** 'the gangways (or passages) were exposed,' that is, at their open ends. This *cuniculus* was originally meant to protect the soldiers while making the *agger*, and afterwards material was brought through it and flung into the space between the *agger* and the enemy's wall, this being done to enable the assailants to step across on to the wall.

23.—1. **trabes directae,** 'beams are placed in the ground at right angles (*directae, i.e.*, to the line of the wall), in unbroken succession along the length of the wall, at equal intervals of two feet.

2. **revinciuntur introrsus** : according to § 5 they are bound together by beams of an average length of 40 feet, and clamped with iron clamps. Then *agger* (*i.e.*, earth, small stones and rubble generally; see Intr. §§ 29, 30) is thrown in behind the long beams to give solidity and hold to the entire building and clothe or cover the frame-work. The frontage between the *trabes* is of blocks of stone.

3. **alius...additur** : a second layer of similar construction is placed on the top of the first, but in such a way that *neque* ('*but* not') *inter se contingant trabes, i.e.*, the second layer was so placed that its woodwork rested on the stones of the lower layer, and its stones on the lower woodwork. The lines (§ 5) are *rectae* (*i.e.*, not curved), though they are of course diagonal and not horizontal. **singulae singulis** : remains of a similar construction have been found at Mursceint in Department *Lot.*

5. **cum...tum,** 'both...and especially.' **in,** 'as regards,' but virtually='with a view to.' **alternis,** 'as timber and stones alternate,' a kind of causal abl. **opportunitatem**= *aptam structuram.* **ab incendio,** because the timber on the wall front was insulated. **materia,** the woodwork generally, which was so clamped and braced as to render it immovable. **perpetuae trabes,** 'the beams running across to bind the original beams.' **ped. quadragenos,** to be taken with *introrsus revincta.*

24.—1. The *agger* cannot have been 330 feet *wide.* Göler (who also for 80 feet high reads 40) suggests *longum* for *latum*, and its length would be a more important factor than its breadth, which stood in recognized proportion to its height.

2. **consuetudine**, vi. 27. 5 *n*. **ab opere intermitteretur**; so *Bell. Civ.* i. 32. 1, *ut reliquum tempus a labore intermitteretur.* At v. 11. 6, *ad laborem* is used. **succenderant**, c. 22. 4.

3. **turrium**, those, namely, of the Romans. [Not of the besieged, for as they *totum murum ex omni parte turribus contabulaverant* (c. 22. 3), it is hard to see what in this case the *utrumque latus turrium* can be.]

5. **instituto**, i. 50. 1 *n*. **partitis** (vi. 6. 1) **temporibus**, *i.e.*, in turns. **turres** (*ambulatoriae* or *mobiles*) went on wheels or rollers; Intr. § 30. **interscinderent**, to prevent the flame spreading. **omnis e. c. multitudo**, the same order of words as ii. 12. 4. **ad restinguendum**, an object is easily supplied.

25.—1. **plutei**: here breast-works upon the towers for the defence of soldiers engaged (elsewhere = moveable mantlets; Intr. § 31. 1). **nec adire animadv.** = *et animadvertebant, non facile adire. Nec* is often equivalent to *et non*, the *et* belonging to the principal clause, the *non* to the subordinate; Liv. 7. 9. 1, *consules in Hernicos exercitum duxerant, n e q u e inventis hostibus* ('and, not finding the enemy'), *Ferentinum vi ceperunt.* **vestigio**, 'a single point of time,' 'a moment,' transferred from space to time. The two are combined, Cic. *in Pis.* 9. 21, *eodem et loci vestigio et temporis*; cp. *e vestigio*, 'immediately,' *Bell. Civ.* ii. 7. 3; iv. 5. 3 *n*.

2. **per manus**, 'from hand to hand'; vi. 38. 4. **scorpio**, the catapult from which arrows were shot, but sometimes the arrow itself; Intr. § 32.

26.—1. **cons. ceperunt** = *constituerunt*; the inf. therefore is similarly constructed to c. 71. 1; so Cic. *ad Att.* 5. 5. 1, *consilium est exspectare*; Liv. 1. 27. 6, *consilium erat...inclinare vires* (but in 33. 6. 8, *consilium fuit excidendi*); Roby, § 1345.

2. **conati** = 'if they should have attempted'; see v. 39. 4 *n*. **neque...et**, c. 20. 4. **perpetua**, by drawing into the relative clause and by the introduction of *intercedebat* the fact is more clearly brought out that the marsh divided the camp from the town *without a break*, than if the words had run *perpetua palus, quae*, etc. **ad**, after a word of 'hindering,' as after *impedimento*, ii. 25. 1.

3–5. **quos** does not exclusively refer to *liberos*. **significare de**, i. 42. 1 *n*. **quo timore** = *cuius rei timore*, v. 19. 2.

27.—1. **directis operibus**: after the siege-works military

engines were directed against the town, in a position most likely to render their attack effectual. **quid fieri...ostendit,** a formula ; v. 2. 3 *n.*

2. **legionibus expeditis** ('got ready for the attack') **cohortatus.** The construction is rather loose ; see vi. 43. 1 *n.*

28.—1. **perterriti...deiecti**: the first participle gives the reason of the second ; the connection between them is therefore like that of the ablatives absolute in ii. 11. 5. **cuneatim,** Intr. § 15. 5. **depugnare** (cp. *decertare,* i. 50. 4) of a hard fought and decisive engagement.

2. **circumfundi**: from *neminem* supply *omnes.* **cont. impetu,** *i.e.,* there was no pause in their tumultous rush.

4. **Cenabi**: we should have expected *Cenabensi,* 'the massacre at (lit. 'of') Cenabum' (see c. 3). Cp. v. 54. 4, *Gallici belli officiis ;* viii. 48. 10, *Galliae res gestas ; Bell. Civ.* i. 4. 5, *iter Asiae Syriaeque.* Such too is the rationale of the gen. in *labore operis* = 'the hardship in the siege.' [Caesar does not conceal the great massacre at Avaricum, but excuses it by the exasperation of his soldiers, and transfers the blame to them from himself.]

5, 6. **denique,** 'in short.' **multa nocte,** 'late at night' ; i. 22. 4. **ut...curaret** ; these words depend on *excepit,* rather loosely, 'he received (the fugitives) in such a way that he could take care that they were separated,' etc. **quae cuique ...obvenerat** = *in eam partem castrorum, quae cuique civ. obvenerat.* The arrangement of the camp is given c. 19. 2 (*generatim*). According to c. 21. 2, 10,000 men of all tribes had been sent to Avaricum. Vercingetorix, to avoid any riot, took pains to tell off the fugitives, as they returned, to their respective divisions.

29.—1–3. **conc. convocato consolatus,** somewhat loosely constructed ; vi. 43. 1 *n.* **si qui** = 'those who' ; cp. vi. 32. 2, *si qui pervenissent* = 'whoever should have come' ; and εἴ τις in Greek. **omnis,** 'nothing but' ; Liv. 5. 14. 5, *patricios o m n i s* ('only patricians') *tribunos militum consulari potestate creavere.*

4–7. **imprudentia Bit.,** c. 15. 4. **unum consilium,** he would effect a combined rising with one single plan of action. **impetrari,** he adopts a milder tone, humbled by his recent severe defeat.

30.—1. **et maxime,** 'and above all' = *et m. quidem;* v. 45. 1. **et...fugerat,** not *nec fugerat,* because it is only explanatory of the words *se...abdiderat,* and both clauses are contrasted with *non defecerat.*

2. **re integra,** while nothing had yet happened, while all was well. **post,** an adverb. **deserendum** : see c. 26. 1.

4. Join *de...civitatibus* with *in spem veniebant.* **insueti laboris** : the objective gen. depends on *insueti,* as on many other adjectives expressing 'knowledge' or 'ignorance,' so *navigandi insuetus;* Tac. *Hist.* 1. 87, *bellorum insolens.*

31.—2-4. **capere,** 'to win over (the other states).' **qui** = *eos qui,* and is placed in front of its antecedent clause; cp. *Bell. Civ.* iii. 78. 5, *quique erant ex vulneribus aegri, depositis;* in § 5, *et quos* = *et cum iis, quos;* see iv. 7. 3 *n.* **imperat... quem velit,** c. 11. 5. *n.;* observe that *imperat* has an immediate object, *cert. numerum mil.*

5. **amicus,** i. 3. 4 *n.* **conduxerat,** 'he had hired' = *mercede conduxerat,* as v. 27. 8, the mercenaries are opposed to his own people (*suorum*).

32.—1, 2. **commoratus,** v. 7. 3 *n.* **sive...posset,** 'to see if he could either,' etc. **necessario,** 'critical'; i. 16. 6 *n.*

3. **annum,** not *unum annum,* because *unus* is not employed except to emphasize the idea of the singular as against the plural (see c. 81. 1 *n.*), in expressions of time, such as *annus, mensis, dies* (cp. iv. 1. 7, *longius anno*), and measurement of space, c. 73. 9, *pedem longae.*

4. **florentem,** without the usual qualifying word or words to show wherein the *flos* was to be found; but we gather that it means 'influential' from the words *atque ipsum hominem summae potentiae,* while *magnae cognitionis* corresponds to *illustris.*

5. **pars,** 'a half.'

33.—1. **detrimentosus** (formed from *detrimentum* as *portentosus* from *portentum*) only occurs here. **dissensiones,** 'internal disquiet.' **alere,** 'foster,' 'aggrandize.' **descendere,** went so far as actually to come (as a last resource) to violence; cp. v. 29. 5 *n.*

2. **quos inter** (*anastrophe*) **contr. esset.,** virtual *oratio obliqua,* 'those who (*so the Aedui told him*) were engaged in the quarrel.'

3. **atq. oportuerit**, perf. conj. among historic tenses, because *oportuit* (= 'it ought to *have* happened') would have been used in *or. recta*. **fratrem a fratre**, Cotus by Valetiacus, c. 32. 4. **renuntiatum**, *i.e.*, as magistrate, implying a formal proclamation, although the whole matter had been unconstitutionally conducted; the electors had not been duly summoned, nor the meeting fully attended.

4. In the case of an *interregnum* the priests would nominate, unless the outgoing magistrate had appointed a successor. Valetiacus had done this, but he had nominated his brother, which was contrary to law; Convictolitavis as the nominee of the priests is upheld by Caesar.

34.—1. **omnibus omissis rebus**, to the neglect of all else, they were to devote their attention to the war. **servirent**, iv. 5. 3 *n*. **in praesidiis**, in different places, where they could protect the corn supply and keep the roads open for its conveyance.

35.—1. **e regione castris**: the gen. is more usual, as in § 3. The dat. expresses rather the idea of *castra castris opponere*; cp. Cic. *Acad*. 2. 39. 123, *dicitis esse e r e g i o n e n o b i s, e contraria parte terrae, qui adversis vestigiis stent contra nostra vestigia*. **dispositis**, by Vercingetorix; see Crit. App. **erat in...difficultatibus res**; cp. ii. 25. 1, *rem esse in angusto;* vii. 41. 2; *Bell. Civ*. iii. 15. 3, *erat res in magna difficultate;* notice the transposition of the words for *erat Caesaris res*, etc. **ne**, c. 10. 1. **ante autumnum**, because in the summer the melting snow swells the river; see c. 55. 10. **vado transiri**, i. 6. 2.

3. **captis**: the general sense is clear. Two legions were kept back, and Caesar wished to conceal their departure and to make the remaining force look like the original six to the enemy opposite. But *captis* gives no clear sense; see Crit. App. The text may mean, 'that although some cohorts had been *removed*, yet,' etc. But we should have expected *uti* to come before *captis*.

4. **remanebat**, 'was still there, uninjured'; for the tense cp. vi. 32. 5. **inferior pars**, 'the lower end,' not 'a lower row.' As the enemy had only burnt the top of these, the unburnt part stood firm enough to be built upon, thus saving Caesar the wearisome trouble of driving in new piles.

36.—1. **quintis castris** = 'on the fifth day'; Intr. § 29. 6.

expugnatio = 'capture by storm.' **agere** is here used absolutely = 'to treat.' **de**, 'with regard to'; i. 42. 1 *n*. **constituit** takes the gerundive, as c. 54. 2 *n*.

2. **separatim collocaverat**, c. 19. 2 *n*. **omnibus eius iugi collibus**, 'all the elevations in that range.'

5–7. **e regione oppidi**, no doubt on the south side, opposite the town. **priusquam...posset** depends not on *egressus* (in the sense *ne prius posset*), but on the following, = 'he won the height before rescue could be brought' (see iii. 26. 3 *n*.). **minora castra** = the camp of the two legions formed on the height just won. **commeare** = 'to go to and fro.'

37.—1, 2. **demonstravimus**, c. 33. 4. **erat...eius fratres**: for the sing. verb see ii. 26. 5. **imperio** (dative of the purpose) **natos**, their birth destined them for rule.

3, 4. **detineat**, 'retard' (= *moretur*); iii. 12. 5, *naves tempestatibus detinebantur*. **contineri**, 'kept from rising.' **traducta**, 'won over' (by bribes, see § 6) from the Roman to the Gallic alliance. **ut iustissimam...obtinuerit**: his obligation was small, because he had quite deserved all the favour that Caesar had shown him.

6, 7. **vel principes**, 'would be the very first to carry out the plan'; v. 544, *principes inferendi belli.* **decem illis milibus**, c. 34. 1.

38.—1. The place was near the modern Randans.

2, 3. **insimulati proditionis**, c. 19. 5, *iniquitatis condemnati.* **ex ipsa caede**, '*straight* from this massacre,' = *ex media caede* of § 5.

6, 7. **ut sibi consulat.** He was to consult for their safety, see how he could help them; cp. c. 8. 4, *obsecrant, ut suis fortunis consulat.* [*Consulere* with dat. never in classical Latin, = 'advise'.] **quasi vero**, 'you speak exactly as if.' **consilii sit res**, 'matter for consultation.' The phrase occurs Liv. 22. 53. 6. **ac non**, 'and as if it were not rather.' *ac non* (not *neque*) always stands in phrases thus added as corrections of previous statements.

10. **tota civitate**, 'throughout the whole State.' The abl. without any preposition denotes extension over space. **suas** (= *sibi illatas*) = an obj. gen., cp. i. 30. 1; *Bell. Civ.*, i. 7. 7, *imperatoris sui...iniurias.*

39.—1. **traditum**, 'introduced.' *Bell. Civ.* iii. 57. 1, *traditum et commendatum.* **convenerant**=*simul venerant.*

3. **levi mom.**, Roby, § 1198, abl. of price. *Momentum* (for *movimentum*), 'an equipoise,' 'a balance'; cp. Cic. *Nat. D.* 2. 46, *astra momenta sustentant;* hence 'a weight sufficient to turn the scale,' and hence in a moral sense 'weight,' 'influence.'

40.—2. **ad contrahenda castra.** The camp being made for 6 legions could not be adequately defended by four, and would have to be reduced in dimensions; the danger is illustrated in the next chapter.

4. **permoveantur**=*aegre, moleste ferant*=λυπεῖσθαι: cp. c. 53. 1. **quemquam** (for *quem*, which is used v. 58. 4) emphasizes the idea, 'not a *single* man'; *quisquam* is however much rarer than *quis*, which is usually emphatic enough; Sall. frag. 45. 2, *ne quisquam ordine egrederetur.* On the sequence of tenses see c. 80. 1 *n.*

6, 7. **manus tendere...et...incipiunt.** This is no exception to the rule about the copulative conjunction (see Roby, § 2194-2203), for *dedit significare* and *deprecari* form virtually a single sentence: see i. 23. 1 *n.* **more Gallorum**, iii. 22. 2 and 3.

41.—2. **summis copiis**, v. 17. 5 *n.* **iisdem**, opposed to *integri defessis succederent.*

4. **eorum**, i.e., *hostium*, *not* 'the emissaries of Fabius.' That the enemy had relaxed the siege for a day we can see by the tense of *fuerit* in § 2. **obstruere, addere**, not *imperfects*, but *presents*, describing Fabius' action at the time, so as to be ready for the next day (*in posterum diem similemque casum*). **pluteos**, breastworks on the walls, as on the towers in c. 25. 1.

42.—1, 2. **ad cognoscendum**, 'to ascertain the fact.' **spatium**, of time; see c. 48. 4. **levis auditio**, 'an empty rumour'; cp. iv. 5. 3, Cic. *ad Fam.* 8. 1. 2, *ne tenuissimam quidem auditionem de ea re accepi.*

3, 4. **abstrahunt**: sc. *ipsos*, easily understood from the context. **adiuvat rem proclinatam.** Convictolitavis gives a push to the whole business—which was already on an incline (the phrase *res proclinata* occurs in Cic. *ad Att.* x. 8), *i.e.*, he precipitates the defection of the Aedui from the Romans.

5. **fide data**, 'under promise of safe conduct.' **idem facere**, the sense is given by the preceding *educunt*. **negotiandi causa**, c. 3. 1. The number of Romans settled in this Aeduan town of Cabillonum must have been considerable.

43.—2-4. **sui purgandi**, ii. 6. 1 *n*. **capti**, 'fascinated by the gain derived from the plundered property'; nearly = *instigati*. **ea res** includes the acts of treachery against the Romans in general and the plundering in particular. Almost the same phrase occurs v. 25. 4. **tametsi...tamen**, i. 30. 2.

5. **omn. exercitum contraheret**, by uniting with Labienus, who was in command of 4 legions, c. 34. 2. **ab Gergovia.** The preposition *ab* is attached to the names of places when departure from the e n v i r o n s is indicated. See c. 59. 1; *Bell. Civ.* iii. 24. 4, *Libo discessit a Brundisio* (=from the harbour of B.); [cp. use of *ad*, *e.g.*, i. 7. 1; vii. 76. 5.] The preposition is inserted when direction from one place to another is indicated. See c. 45. 4; 80. 9; *Bell. Civ.* i. 11. 4, *ab Arimino Arretium mittit; id.* 25. 2, *a Corfinio in Siciliam.* **ne videretur** depends on *quemadmodum discederet*, 'so that his departure might not look like,' etc.

44.—1. **minora castra**, c. 36. 7. **collem**, c. 36. 2.

2. Caesar could not understand why the Gauls had evacuated so important a position.

3. **constabat inter omnes**, 'were in one tale'; cp. ii. 2. 4, *c o n s t a n t e r omnes nuntiaverunt.* **dorsum esse eius iugi.** He ascertained that a ridge of this same chain formed a road to the other side (the west side) of the town: a narrow ridge (cp. Tac. *Ann.* 4. 47, *montem occupant a n g u s t u m*), and grown over with wood (*sed hunc*, like *et is*, *atque hic:* as opposed to the hill mentioned before). The Gauls were afraid that the Romans, who already were besieging one hill (c. 36. 5) might get round and entirely hem them in. Vercingetorix called off his troops and led them to the south-west side, in view of an anticipated attack. On the masc. form *dorsus* (which occurs in Plautus *Mil. Glor.* 398), Schneider remarks, '*Recentioribus d o r s u m magis placuerit; de Caesaris eiusque aetatis usu nihil constat, neque apud Livium aut Tacitum discerni genus potest.*'

4. **quin**, i. 4. 4 *n.; Bell. Civ.* iii. 94. 3, *neque Caesarem fefellit, quin.*

45.—1. **de media nocte**, to be taken with *vagentur*, not with

imperat; cp. Cic. *pro Sest.* 18. 41, *quem domi meae certi homines monuerunt ut esset cautior.* **omnibus locis**, *i.e.*, in the neighbourhood of the several entrenchments.

2. **impedimentorum**, 'pack horses.' **equitum specie ac simulatione**, so arranged as to look like Roman cavalry. **stramenta**, 'pack saddles, on which riding was impossible.' **collibus**, abl.; they were to ride on the hills and over them to the opposite side of the town.

4, 5, **neque**=*neque tamen*, i. 47. 1. **tanto spatio**, 'at so great a distance.' **eodem iugo**, abl. like *collibus* just above, and § 10, *alio ascensu*; Liv. 2. 50. 10, *ni iugo circummissus Veiens in verticem collis evasisset.* This is the same ridge along which he had sent the cavalry.

6. **ad munitionem**: cp. 44. 5, *ad hunc muniendum*; 48, 1, *qui munitionis causa convenerant.*

7. **insignibus**, i. 22. 2; ii. 21. 5. **raros**, 'in scattered bodies,' v. 9. 6. **in minora castra**, in order more easily from this camp at the foot of the hill to attack the camp evacuated by the enemy.

9. **mutari**, *i.e.*, remedied; the difficulty arising from inferiority of position would be removed; cp. *Bell. Civ.* ii. 29. 3, *Caesaris beneficium mutaverat consuetudo.* **occasiones**: it was a question of overreaching the enemy by a fortunate *coup* rather than of engaging in a formal battle.

10. **alio ascensu**, 'at another part of the ascent'=*alia parte qua ascendi poterat.* The Aedui were to scale the east side, probably from their camp lying east-south-east, while the legions attacked on the south.

46.—1. **si nullus...intercederet, aberat**, 'had no bend in the path occurred, the wall *was* distant,' a not unusual form of the hypothetical sentence (common in Tacitus); Roby, § 1574. The actual distance was 1200 paces, but of course it would be impossible to march straight up without some *détour.*

2. **huc**, *i.e.*, to the 1200 paces. **circuitūs** depends on *quidquid.* **ad molliendum clivum**=*ut molliore acclivitate iretur.* The slope would be mitigated by a zigzag course; cp. Liv. 21. 37. 3, *molliunt amfractibus modicis clivos.*

3. **ex grandibus saxis...murum**, v. 40. 6 *n.* **densissimis**: the camps of the several contingents lay close together, hence *trinis* in § 4.

5. **ut conquieverat**, 'exactly in the condition in which he had gone to rest'; cp. Liv. 24. 40. 12, *ut ipse rex sicut somno excitus erat, prope seminudus...ad flumen perfugerit.*

47.—1. Here again Caesar appears to conceal his real intent. His *coup de main* for clearing the space below the town wall had not altogether succeeded. This induced him to recall (*receptui canere*, not necessarily = 'beat a retreat') the storming columns. **quod animo proposuerat**; cp. on c. 43. 5. **animo** is either dat. and almost = *sibi*, or abl., and *sibi* must then be understood with *proposuerat*, as in *Bell. Civ.* iii. 76. 1, *confecto iusto itinere, quod proposuerat.* **constituit**, 'halted'; the 10th was his favourite legion.

2. **valles**: this valley is that near the village of Merdogne, about the middle of the southern slope: Caesar with the 10th legion made an attack to the east of it, the other legions to the west of this. **retinebantur**: notice force of the impf.—the *legati* tried to keep their troops in, but could not.

3. **elati spe**: *Bell. Civ.* i. 45. 2, *elati studio.* **non**, placed as in iv. 7. 5 *n.*

5. **vestem**, 'clothes,' collective singular. **passis manibus**, i. 51. 3 *n.* **Romanos**, v. 32. 1; see also c. 48. 1 and 3.

6. **per manus**, the hands of those who stood above on the walls; contrast 25. 2; vi. 38. 4.

7. **Avaricens. praemiis**: cp. 27. 2, *iis qui primi murum ascendissent, praemia proposuit.* The adj. is used in Latin where we should use a substantive in the gen. or some paraphrase; cp. 53. 3, *ad Gallicam* ('of the Gauls') *ostentationem*; Liv. 24. 4, *nomen regium*, 'the name King.' **tres... manipulares**, see i. 52. 5 *n.* '*manipularis* is...merely a term for the rank and file of a legion as distinguished from its *officers*,' Furneaux on Tac. *Ann.* i. 21; *gregarius*, as belonging to the army at large; *legionarius*, as distinguished from the allies.

48.—1. **supra**, viz., at c. 44. 5.

2. **ut quisque...venerat**, *i.e.*, each man stationed himself, as the forces came up, without reference to his own division. On **venerat...consistebat** cp. iii. 4. 2, 14. 6 (v. 34. 2).

3. **tendebant**, 'had been stretching,' instead of the pluperfect; but Caesar regards not so much the action as completed,

but as lasting up to that time. **passum capillum**, i. 51. 3 *n.* They regarded Gergovia as virtually lost.

4. **spatio**, 'continuance' of time (=*diuturnitate*), as at 42. 1.

49.—1. By **colle** we must here (as in 46. 3) understand the (southerly) slope of the hill of Gergovia, not the hill on which the smaller camp stood.

3. Caesar stood east of the rest of the legions (c. 47. 2), and threatened the left flank if the enemy pressed forward; while Sextius at the same time threatened the right (§ 1); cp. also 51. 1.

50.—1. The words **hostes...confiderent** are an expansion of *comminus pugnaretur*, and there is therefore an *asyndeton* (iv. 27. 1 *n.*); for *et* would have introduced this as a new idea. **ab latere...aperto**, on the side where our flank was exposed (i. 25. 6 *n.*). The following words *quos...ab dextra parte miserat* (cp. 45. 10) show which flank is to be here understood. On the other flank Sextius covered the storming party. *manus*, *i.e.*, of the evening.

2. **dextris umeris exsertis animadv.**, 'were seen to have their right shoulders bare'; the abl. is one of quality; cp. i. 28. 5. **sui fallendi**, iii. 6. 1 *n.*

3. **muro**, without prep., as in *Bell. Civ.* ii. 11. 1, *praecipitataque muro;* Liv. 9. 22. 7, *ut exanimem equo praecipitaret.*

4. **sibi**: the dat. with *despero* is used also by Caesar in iii. 12. 3, *suis fortunis desp.;* by Cicero *p. Muren.* 21. 45, *sibi; in Pis.* 36. 89, *rebus suis;* [*pro Cluent.* 56. 68, *saluti; in Pis.* 34. 84, *oppido*]. **quidem certe**, 'for your life at least'; *quidem* lays stress on *vestrae*, *certe* emphasizes *prospiciam.*

6. **post paulum**, 'a little later'; *post* is an adverb, not a preposition. The phrase occurs only in this passage of Caesar, constantly in Quintilian; cp. vi. 9. 3, *paulum supra*, and (for the position of the words) 60. 4, *post paulo.* **saluti fuit**, inasmuch as he made retreat possible for the rest, by keeping back the enemy for a moment at his personal risk.

51.—1. **intolerantius**, 'more eagerly,' lit. 'past control'; the word is sometimes active, as Cic. *Tusc.* 2. 9. 22, *intoleranter dolere*, which comes virtually to mean 'to grieve without self-restraint' (=*impotenter*, *intemperanter*); so Cic.

de Orat. 2. 52. 209, *intolerantius se iactant; in Vatin.* 12. 29, *intolerantissime gloriaris.*

2. **hanc...exceperunt**: the cohorts of the 13th legion, originally on the left flank of the Roman force, followed up the work of the 10th legion in checking the assault of the enemy. **locum superiorem**: when they saw the storming party in danger they had been moved from the *infimus collis* (see 49. 1. *n.*).

3. **infestis...signis**: they stood fronting the enemy in line.

4. **paulo minus septingenti,** i. 15. 5 *n.*

52.—1. **quod sibi ipsi iudicavissent,** without waiting for the orders of their officers, they had acted on their own responsibility; cp. *Bell. Civ.* i. 1. 3, *se sibi consilium capturum, neque senatus auctoritati obtemperaturum.* **neque...neque,** i. 36. 5 *n.* **recipiendi**=*sui recipiendi,* i. 48. 7; *Bell. Civ.* iii. 46. 5, *quibus ad r e c i p i e n d u m crates...impedimento erant.*

2. Just as in 45. 8 he had warned the *legati* on the difficulties of the ground with which they had to deal, so here with the troops; and he points out their rebellious conduct in *sibi iudicantes,* contrary to his orders. **ad Avaricum,** c. 18 and 19. **exploratam,** iii. 18. 8. **parvum modo,** 'even a trifling loss.' Caesar had certainly meant to take Gergovia, and failed; but whether this failure was due to his blunder or that of his soldiers cannot be now decided.

53.—1. **confirmatis,** just as a little before he has recognized their courage. Caesar always knew how to restore his men's self-confidence after a disaster: see an example of this v. 52. 6. **permoverentur**: cp. 40. 4. **eadem de prof. cogitans... constituit**: see 43. 5. After the unfavourable issue of the battle, a removal would necessarily look like flight. To avoid this, he challenged the enemy to fight. This Vercingetorix did not accept, as he (1) did not wish to lose what he had gained, and (2) was well aware of the superiority of the Romans in the open field. Caesar means simply that he had done enough to subdue *ostentationem Gallicam* (§ 3), on which see 47. 7.

2. **atque,** 'and above all.'

4. **insecutis**: v. 23. 6 *n.* **Elaver,** neuter, like many names of foreign rivers and states. **ad flumen** = 'over the stream'; cp. *Bell. Civ.* i. 61. 4, *ad eum locum fluminis pontem imperant fieri;* see 34. 3; 35. 2. **eoque,** 'over it,' *scil. flumine.*

54.—1. **Litaviccum** : see c. 37 and foll.

2. **retinendos non constituit.** The gerundive, as in 36. 1, *agendum constituit:* the simple *statuere* is the more usual word.

3. **quos** (= *quales*). **accepisset** = simply 'found.' **quam humiles**, i. 31. 6; vi. 12. 3.

4. **mandatis.** This word is used because the Aedui were really charged with a message (viz., to confirm the State in its allegiance to Rome).

55.—1. **Noviodunum** (*Nevers*), not to be confounded with a place of the same name in c. 12.

4. **Bibracti**, the old locative found in other names of places: *Carthagini* (Liv. 30. 9. 3), *Tiburi* (Cic. *ad Att.* 16. 3. 1), *Anxuri*, *Lacedaemoni* (Nep. Praef. § 4), as in *ruri*, *humi*, *infelici arbori* (Liv. 1. 26. 6). Such names ending in *e* (as *Caere*) have their abls. in *e;* Roby, § 434. With **recipere** Caesar generally uses the simple abl.; cp. c. 20. 12; *Bell. Civ.* iii. 103. 3, *ut Alexandria reciperetur;* sometimes *in* (*Bell. Civ.* iii. 82. 1, *receptis omn. in una castra legionibus*) or *intra* (i. 32. 5, *intra fines suos*). In another sense of the verb, *in* is the regular construction; c. 71. 8. **commodum** = 'opportunity.'

6. **civitatum**: termination *-ium*, c. 36. 2; 89. 1, *necessitatium;* Roby, §§ 445, 810.

8. **frumenti quod**, iii. 16. 2.

9. **si...possent**, vi. 29. 4. They had the more reason for hoping this, because the Loire was difficult to cross; it was necessary to prevent the Romans from crossing, as these would in that case be able to forage on the right bank also. Caesar, on the other hand, could not quit Gaul because this would involve his losing it permanently and deserting Labienus and his legions; he was therefore obliged to cross the Loire.

10. **multum**, iii. 9. 3. **ex nivibus**, c. 35. 2 *n.* **vado transiri**, i. 6. 2.

56.—1. **si esset...dimicaret**, v. 50. 3 *n.*

2. **ne...impediebat**, 'he was prevented from altering his plan and diverting his route into the Province (as everyone thought he would have to do) alike by the indignity and disgrace of the proceeding, and the fact that M. Cevenna lay in his path and the route was difficult.' [See Crit. App.] **abiuncto Labieno**, c. 34. 2. *Abiungere* is a rare word, used by Caesar in this passage only.

4. **disposito.** The cavalry in such crossings were generally drawn up in two lines in the water so that one line broke the force of the stream, the other stationed below rescued any soldier or thing which was swept away. But of this latter line Caesar here says nothing.

57.—1–4. **supplemento,** c. 1. 1 *n.* **perpetuam paludem** (vi. 5. 4; and *continentes paludes,* iii. 28. 2; vi. 31. 2), a stretch of marshy ground no doubt on the left (or south) bank of the Seine, between Lutetia and Metiosedum (probably formed by the little river Essonne).

58.—1. **vineas,** under shelter of which to carry on the work to be detailed: ii. 12. 3 *n.*; Intr. § 31. **agger,** 'the material for a mound': ii. 20. 1; vii. 23. 2. **iter munire,** 'make a solid road.'

2. **id**=the passage of the marsh. **confieri,** here only in Caesar for *confici,* and seldom elsewhere. Sulpicius in Cic. *ad Fam.* 4. 5. 1, *consolatio confieri debet.* The only other forms found are *confit, confiat, confieret;* Roby, § 731.

4. **eo**=*in eas,* i. 42. 5; 51. 3.

5. Labienus marches from Agedincum along the *left* (south) bank of the Seine, which he crossed at Metiosedum (*Melun*), continued his march along the *right* bank until he reached Lutetia. **secundo flumine,** '*down* the stream'; contrast *adverso fl.,* c. 60. 3.

6. **pontes...oppidi** [apparently in the neighbourhood of present Pont Notre-Dame and Pont d'Arcole], the bridges which joined the island, on which Lutetia stood, to the two banks of the Seine. The position taken up by the enemy is on the *left* bank, opposite Lutetia and facing Labienus. When Caesar's ill-success before Gergovia and the preparations of the Bellovaci became known, Labienus' one course was to get back to Agedincum. But how to cross the river? His manœuvres with this in view are described in the next and following chapters.

59. **a Gerg.,** 43. 5 *n.* **secundo motu,** 'the successful outbreak'; cp. 53. 2; ii. 9. 2. **interclusum,** they described as done what was merely in prospect (see c. 55. 9). **itinere et Ligeri** is not a *hendiadys*=*transitu Ligeris,* but *et Ligeri* more exactly defines *itinere.* Cp. ii. 22. 1, *loci natura deiectusque collis;* v. 11. 9, *toto bello imperioque;* Cic. *p. Planc.* 30. 73, *in illo tristi luctu atque discessu;* id. *p. Sest.* 39, 85, *aditu et foro prohibebatur.* **coacturi,** the reason of this is given in the preceding participle *interclusum;* ii. 11. 5.

2. **qui ante...infideles** refers to the Bellovaci.

4. **cogitabat,** 'pondered ways and means'; *ut* is final.

altera...alteram, the Bellovaci were waiting on the right bank, Camulogenus on the left bank. **parato atque instructo,** 'ready for action and well-armed'; Liv. 24. 40. 5, *cum classe instructa parataque;* on the 'military' abl. see i. 8. 1. **a praesidio,** the troops in garrison at Agedincum, where all baggage except that required on the march had been left behind; c. 60. 3. **interclusas maximum fl.** (the Seine). **distinebat,** for fulness of expression cp. ii. 19. 5, *porrecta loca aperta pertinebant;* § 6, *abditi latebant; Bell. Civ.* i. 55. 1, *quos ubi procul visos conspexit.*

60.—Labienus' plan was to weaken Camulogenus by making him divide his forces, and in this he thoroughly succeeded. Napoleon tried similar tactics in crossing the Berezina.

1. **consilio conv. cohortatus,** vi. 43. 1 *n.* **progredi,** of ships; cp. c. 61. 5, *quantum naves processissent.*

3. **reliquas...proficisci imperat.** This is no exception to the rule that *impero* takes after it only a *passive,* acc. with inf. (see v. 1. 3, *actuarias imperat fieri*), because an inf. of a deponent is treated as passive.

4. **post paulo,** in this order only in *Bell. Civ.* i. 20. 3, Corn. Nep. *Pausan.* 3. 1, *post non multo;* Cic. *in Verr.* ii. 18, 46, *ante aliquanto; de Rep.* ii. 4. 9, *ante paulo.* So *post paucis diebus;* cp. c. 50. 6. **eum locum,** viz., 4000 paces below the camp.

61.—1–3. **ut erant...dispositi,** cp. v. 43. 5; iii. 19. 6 *n.* **exercitus equitatusque,** i. 48. 4. **tumultuari,** in an impers. passive sense (Plautus *Rud.* 619 has active *quid tumultues*) as in Liv. 36. 44. 4, *tumultuari coeptum est.* **magnum ire agmen:** their idea was based on the noise made by the 5 cohorts, c. 60. 3. **paulo infra,** down the stream where the real crossing on ships (*naves*) took place, while only skiffs (*lintres*) were despatched up stream.

5. **progrediatur:** the change of tenses *progrediatur... processissent* is noteworthy (cp. 66. 4), but much more the present *progrediatur* in connection with the historic tenses (*distribuerunt, duxerunt*). **naves** = the *lintres* sent up stream.

62.—1, 2. **nostri omnes** is to be limited to the 3 legion and cavalry with Labienus himself. The crossing of the tw

other divisions is not mentioned, as the battle once won they would be unopposed. **praes. adesse**, vi. 8. 4.

5. **suis aderat**, stronger than 'was present' merely; rather = 'stood by'; *consultor idem et socius periculi a d e r a t* Sall. *Jug.* 85. 47.

6. **nunc etiam**, vi. 40. 6. **exitu vict.**, on the right wing *i n i t i u m v i c t o r i a e ortum erat* (*Bell. Civ.* iii. 94. 3); on the left the defence was gallant, but doubtful, though in the end successful.

8. **neque**, 'but not'; i. 47. 1 *n.*

63.—1. **augetur**, 'spreads.' **circummittuntur**, by the Aedui.

3. **obsides**, c. 55. 2. **supplicio**, 'the *threat* of execution,' c. 4. 9.

4. **rationes belli**, not so much his plans as a general consultation for the conduct of the war; cp. vi. 2. 3; *Bell. Civ.* ii. 4. 5, *rursusque se ad confligendum animo confirmant et c o n s i l i a c o m m u n i c a n t;* Liv. 10. 22. 3, *cum moribus notis facilius se c o m m u n i c a t u r u m c o n s i l i a. Secum* is easily supplied from the foregoing *ad se.*

6. **ad unum omnes**, iv. 15. 3.

7. **Remi...amicitiam R.**; see v. 54. 4. **toto abessent bello**, abl. of time = 'during the whole war,' as Caesar always uses the prep. *a* with *abesse.*

8. **queruntur et requirunt** form a single idea, which is joined on to **ferunt** with asyndeton, so that *et* forms no exception to the rule; i. 23. 1 *n.* **ab reliquis**, more exactly *ab reliquorum consiliis :* so vi. 22. 4. *cum potentissimis.*

9. **summae spei** [subjective genitive] = 'a young man with ambitious hopes'; cp. Cic. *Phil.* 2. 18. 46, *adulescentem summa spe et animi et ingenii praeditum.*

64.—2. **habuerat** (not *habuerit*), because it is Caesar's statement, not part of Vercingetorix's remark; ii. 4. 10 *n.* **aut...dimicat**, not *neque ;* v. 17. 4 *n.* **perfacile factu**, i. 3. 6.

3. **aequo modo animo** : a new sentence begins here, as with merely a comma at *prohibere* and making *modo* = *dummodo*, the strongly emphasized *aequo animo* is quite out of place, it being immaterial for the consequence whether these sacrifices are made willingly or unwillingly.

7. **Allobrogas** (i. 26. 6, *Lingonas*) ... **sollicitat**, 'tries the temper of' to see whether they would consent to join in a

general rising. He based his expectations on the fact that the temper which they had shown in 60 B.C. (see i. 6. 2) had not yet settled down (*residere*=' settle down ' *after a previous uprising*), therefore *quod nondum bono animo in populum Romanum videbantur* (*ib.* § 3).

65.—1. **cohortium** (for gen. cp. v. 47. 5 *n.*), not legionaries but auxiliary cohorts raised in 'the province'; Intr. § 11. **L. Caesare,** Caesar's cousin, consul 60 B.C., *legatus* to Caesar again in the civil war (*Bell. Civ.* i. 8. 2). **quae ex ipsa prov....opponebantur,** either (1) an abbreviated form of *ex ipsa prov. collecta* (cp. 43. 3, *compendio ex direptis bonis*), or (2) *quae ex ipsa prov. opponebantur* to be taken together.

2. **Cab. filio,** therefore brother to Procillus mentioned i. 19. 3, 47. 4, 55. 5. **oppida ac muros,** not=*oppidorum muros* (see c. 59. 1 *n.*), but the idea is emphatically expressed that the enemy dared not take the open field but must get into safe places and behind the shelter of walls.

4. **quas...pacaverat** (i. 6. 2) referring only to the *Ubii, qui obsides dederant atque in deditionem venerant,* vi. 9. 6. Caesar uses the plural *eas civitates* with intentional exaggeration as to the results of the campaign in Germany. **pacaverat,** i. 6. 2. **inter eos proeliari,** i. 48. 5.

5. **eorum adventu,** 'on their arrival'; i. 50. 3 *n.* **tribuni militum,** Intr. § 19. **equites,** Intr. § 8. **evocati,** Intr. § 21.

66.—1. **extremos L. fines,** in the extreme south of their lands. **trinis castris,** c. 46. 4.

4. **adorirentur**: the imperative and jussive subj. of direct speech are regularly turned into impf. subj. in indirect speech, just as the fut. perf. into plpf. subj. (*perequitasset*, § 7); the noticeable point here is that Vercingetorix uses in the rest of his speech the *pres.* subj.

5. Any rescue by the infantry would of course retard the march; Vercingetorix's idea was that the Romans would be so anxious to reach the Province that they would push on and leave their baggage behind. **dignitate,** 'prestige,' which the Romans would lose if they left their baggage in the enemy's hands.

6, 7. **modo,** vi. 8. 6 *n.* **ipsos quidem,** in direct speech, *vos quidem*, 'you who have shown your superiority to Roman cavalry.' **id quo...animo** refers back to *agmine impedito adorirentur*, the words *si pedites...dubitare* forming a kind of parenthesis. **qui non,** iv. 7. 5.

67.—1. **probata...adactis...distributo** : participles are often thus strung together. The last was in consequence of the first two. See ii. 11. 5. **a primo agmine**, i. 1. 5, 'in front.'

2. **tripertito**, 'in three divisions'; Cic. *Tusc.* 5. 13. 40, *qui bona dividit tripertito.*

3. **intra leg.** : the baggage on the march was carried between the several legions (ii. 17. 2), but when there was danger of an attack it was placed within the 'square' formed by the legions.

4. **nostri**, *i.e.*, the cavalry. **aciem constitui** ; the troops are to form in line of *battle* instead of line of *march*, so viii. 29. 1, *Dumnacus instruit aciem*, where the troops had been halted in line of march (*agmen*). **ad insequendum tardabat**, ii. 25. 1.

7. **Cotus**, c. 32. 4. **Eporedorix**, not the man often mentioned in connection with Viridomarus (c. 38. 2, 39. 1, 55. 4, 63. 9, 76. 3).

68.—1, 2. **Al. quod est oppidum**, i. 38. 1 *n.* **impedimentis deductis**, dative, dependent on *praesidio.*

3. **equitatu** : the instrumental abl. normally used with parts of an army by which a thing is done ; cp. i. 53. 3, *e q u i t a t u consecuti nostri.*

69.—1. **expugnari** (qualified by *obsidione*), 'reduced by blockade,' is not in its usual sense 'carried by storm' (ii. 12. 2).

2. **duabus ex partibus**, north and south. **duo fl.**, Lutosa (*Oze* or *Loze*) and Osera (*Ozerain*). **subluebant** : for the tense cp. *attingebant*, ii. 15. 3 *n.*

3–5. **ante id opp.**, on the west. **mediocri interiecto spatio** : the hills lay at a moderate distance, not from each other, but from the hill on which Alesia stood. **quae pars collis...hunc locum**, after Caesar's manner = *omnem partem collis quae.* The town occupied the tableland at the top of the hill, the camp the east slope (cp. Gergovia, c. 36. 2).

7. **opportunis locis** : four infantry and four cavalry camps were excavated in the years 1862-1865 (v. Göler i. p. 313). **castella**, i. 8. 2. **excubitoribus**, military abl., i. 8. 1 *n.* ; the simple abl. is further justified by the following *praesidiis* ; the passage shows that the usual distinction between *excubiae*, 'day watches,' and *vigiliae*, 'night watches,' will not hold ; Intr. § 29. 7.

70.—1. **intermissam collibus**, c. 17. 1.

2. **legionesque...constituit**, to confirm the courage of and give support to the cavalry; cp. the manœuvre of Vercingetorix, c. 66. 7, 67. 5, and of Caesar, v. 17. 3, 19. 5.

3. **coacervantur**: they had left the opening in the *maceria* too narrow, and so got blocked; for the use of the word for living beings cp. Cic. *in Verr.* v. 57. 148, *videtis coacervatam multitudinem vestrorum civium;* Liv. 24. 39. 5, *coacervantur non caede solum sed etiam fuga.*

5–7. **quas...constituerat**: on the position of the relative sentence see v. 1. 1. **portas**, *i.e.*, of the town; that the troops occupying the ground between the town and the wall (*maceria*) might not crowd into Alesia itself.

71.—1, 2. **dimittere**, after *consilium capit;* c. 26. 1 *n.* **cogant**: *quisque* in the first part of sentence has (as usual in Caesar) the singular (except *Bell. Civ.* iii. 30. 3, *uterque eorum educunt*)*;* the plural in the latter part, because he wishes to enforce the common action upon them, *all* were to work; cp. c. 72. 2; iv. 5. 2.

4. **exigue**, 'barely,' or 'by niggardly distribution'; cp. *Bell. Civ.* iii. 16. 1, *rem frumentarium, qua anguste* ('sparingly') *utebatur.* **tolerari**, impersonal use, as *sustentari*, ii. 6. 1 *n.*

5, 6. **opus erat intermissum**, where an exit could be made by a breach in the works. **paruerint**, fut. perf.; vi. 17. 3 *n.*

8, 9. **in oppidum**, not *oppido* (c. 55. 4 *n.*), because *recipere* here = 'take back.' **parat** with inf., vi. 7. 1 *n.*

72.—1. **fossam pedum xx.**, ii. 5. 6; v. 42. 1. **directis lateribus**, 'with perpendicular sides,' so that the opening at the bottom and at the top was exactly the same, whereas in most ditches either both sides (or at least the inner side) would slope; hence the almost superfluous addition *ut...paterent* (cp. c. 46. 2). **sŏlum**, 'the bottom of the ditch'; on the repetition of the word *fossa* cp. i. 49. 1 *n.*

2. **pedes**: see Crit. App. **id** = *atque id* (*fecit*), referring both to *fossam duxit* (the object of which was to prevent the Gauls from making a sudden attack on the siege works), and to *reliquas munitiones reduxit*, this in order to protect the men engaged on the entrenchment from the missiles of the enemy. **quoniam tantum...complexus**, *i.e.*, all round the large hill on which Alesia lay. **totum corpus**, 'the whole body of the works.' The subjs. *esset* and *cingeretur* are used

because they refer to the idea in Caesar's mind; a change in the order of the words would make this meaning clearer, viz., *hoc consilio, ne, quoniam esset...complexus, multitudo advolaret.* On *advolaret...possent,* see c. 71. 2.

3. **hoc spatio**, viz., 400 feet (or yards); see Crit. App. **eadem alt.**, 'both of the same depth' [not='as deep as they were broad,' for the depth was normally less than the breadth, and the excavations prove it in this case]. **interiorem**, that nearest the town. **locis**='on the level and low-lying parts,' not ablative abs. Müller points out that Caesar's works were on the heights and circumvallated the town; there was only the plain of c. 69. 3, which could not be dealt with. This is referred to in *campestribus ac demissis locis;* and here as the most exposed place Caesar ran his inner trench full of water.

4. **post eas**: this describes the expansion of the works outwards; the rampart, etc., was constructed farther away from the town than the two ditches. **aggerem**, ii. 12. 5. **vallum**, the wall built on the mound with palisades and hurdle-work. **loricam pinnasque**, v. 40. 6. **cervi**, pieces of wood formed like a stag's antlers; they were inserted *ad commissuras*, where the *plutei* and *lorica* join; see illustration. **toto opere** (*on* the whole circuit of the works, ii. 6. 2). **circumdedit** is often used without the dative; i. 38. 6, *murus circumdatus:* contrast viii. 34. 4, *oppido munitiones circumdare moratur.*

73.—2, 3. **firmis ramis**, abl. of quality, =*truncis qui firmos ramos habebant.* **horum**, *i.e.*, *ramorum*, for the stems were dug down into the ditch, the branches standing out above the surface. **stipites**=*trunci.* **ab infimo**, *i.e.*, they were made fast in the ground.

4. **quini erant ordines**: there were five rows of these trunks in each trench [or five trenches with the trunks in them]. **se induebant**, c. 82. 1; Liv. 44. 41. 9, *hastis se induebant*, 'got entangled.' **cippos**: the following *appellabant* (as in § 8) shows that *cippus* is not a regular technical name, but half-sarcastically given by the soldiers as they did the work; *cippus*=an obelisk, grave-stone, or boundary-stone.

5. **ante quos**, and so nearer the town. **obliquis ordinibus**, *i.e*, in the form of the *quincunx*, thus ⁙ **paulatim... fastigio** 'gradually narrowing as they sloped towards the bottom.'

6, 7. **praeusti**, v. 40. 6. **digitus**, strictly=$\frac{3}{4}$ inch. **singuli ab infimo solo pedes.** In each ditch earth was thrown in

and stamped firm to a height of one foot; the rest was so arranged as to entrap the enemy. **lilium**, from a fancied resemblance in shape to the calix of a lily.

8. **pedem longae**, c. 32, 3; 81, 1 *n*. **totae...infodiebantur**, so that only the forks were above ground.

74.—1. **secutus**, 'following' (*i.e.*, following the line of) the most level ground that the lie of the country allowed. **diversas ab his**: facing in an opposite direction, so as to meet the relieving force of the Gauls, which was expected (c. 71. 2). He had a line of circumvallation and of countervallation. Intr., § 30. **accidat**: this departure from the regular succession of tenses is exceptional, for all similar cases are found in *oratio obliqua* (i. 34. 2 *n.*) **eius discessu** give no sense, as *eius* can refer only to Caesar, who had no idea of departing. The words are corrupt and the right reading not yet discovered.

2. **habere convectum**, Roby, § 1402.

75.—1. **cuique**, *i.e.*, each nation represented by its *principes;* ii. 4. 4 *n*. **ex civitate** depends, as a partitive, on *numerum; ex sua civitate* would be clearer, but is not absolutely necessary.

4, 5. **quo...in numero**, iii. 27. 1 *n*. **una**, 'together with the rest'; cp. 56. 2; vi. 19. 4.

76.—1. **antea**, viz., iv. 21. 7. **civitatem eius**, the Atrebates. **immunem**, 'free of tribute.' **reddiderat**. The dat., which must be in thought supplied, is closely attached to the latter clause of the sentence, for *iura redd.* is in close connection with *immunem esse iusserat.* The relation of the two clauses is like that in c. 40. 6, *tendere, deditionem significare, et... deprecari incipiunt.* **attribuerat**, viz., as subjects and stipendaries.

2. **Galliae...libertatis**, on the genitives see i. 30. 2; ii. 17. 2. The statement is exaggerated, for the Belgae and Aquitani are absent, and it is inconsistent with Caesar's own statement at c. 63. 7.

3. **equitum...recensebantur.** This total agrees with the items in c. 75, for the Bellovaci deducted 8,000 from the number demanded of them. **coactis milibus...haec**, iv. 21. 6. **Vercassivellauno.** A Cassivellaunus is mentioned v. 11. 8; Cingetorix, v. 3. 2; the prefix *Ver* in Gallic names is, according to Zeuss, an intensitive prefix. **consobrino**, strictly 'a cousin,' as child of a mother's sister (*? sororinus*, Roby, § 839).

6. **aspectum modo**, vi. 8. 6 *n.* **ancipiti proelio...cernerentur**, 'in an attack from two quarters (*i.e.*, from front and rear ; i. 26. 1), since [on the inside] the engagement consisted of a sortie from the town (lit. 'it was fought by a'...,) and on the outside those huge forces...were n sight. **equitatus**, v. 47. 5 *n.*

77.—2. **variis...videtur.** The sentence is elliptical = *variis dictis sententiis, Critognatus orationem habuit, quae*, etc. **quarum pars censebat**, so *Bell. Civ.* ii. 30. 1, *erant sententiae quae censerent.* **deditionem...censebat** : cp. Liv. 10. 12. 3, *bellum Samnitibus...censuerunt.*

3–5. **magnae habitus auctoritatis**, i. 28. 5. **ad consilium** (not *concilium*), 'to give his advice.' **animi est ista mollitia** : cp. 20. 5. **qui se ultro morti offerant** : cp. Mart. ii. 56. 15, *rebus in angustis facile est contemnere vitam; Fortiter ille facit qui miser esse potest.*

6. **dignitas** = the authority of those who have advocated a sortie.

10–13. **ulterioribus munitionibus**, c. 74. 1. **animi causa**, v. 12. 6. **quid ergo mei consilii est**, i. 21. 2. **Teutonum** (on the form of gen. *-um* = *-orum* see i. 33. 4). **institui**, 'be inaugurated,' for a precedent ; cp. Liv. 4. 4. 1, *nulla res nova institui potest?*

14. **illi bello** depends on *fuit*, not on *simile*, and = *quid illud bellum* (viz. against Cimbri and Teutoni) *simile habuit?* Cp. § 12, *nequaquam pari bello.* **depopulata**, passive, as in i. 11. 4. **Cimbri** stands between the two participial clauses ; cp. c. 81. 1 ; ii. 11. 2.

15, 16. **ulla**, with *bella.* **securibus**, strictly axes of the lictors, used generally to express Roman despotism.

78.—1–3. **inutiles**, v. 11. 4. **experiantur**, the nom. is not *ii*, but the same with that of *constituunt.* **descendant**, v. 29. 5. **Mandubii**, the inhabitants of Alesia ; c. 68. 1.

5. **recipi prohibebat**, ii. 4. 2 *n.* As to the fact, cp. Cass. Dio, 40. 40, which represents these fugitives as perishing most miserably between the camp and the town : *καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, μηδετέρων σφᾶς δεχομένων, οἰκτρότατα ἀπώλοντο.*

79.—**ad Alesiam**, i. 7. 1. **colle exteriore**, on one of the hills which, according to c. 69. 4, *ex omnibus partibus... oppidum cingebant.* **planiciem...demonstravimus**, c. 69. 3.

abditas, 'withdrawn,' as in vi. 5. 5. **proximam fossam**, c. 72. 1.

80.—1. **ad utramque partem**, *i.e.*, towards the town, and also towards the relief forces; c. 74. 1. **si usus** ('need,' 'necessity,') **veniat**, 'should they be wanted'; *usus est* is the more usual phrase; but cp. *Bell. Civ.* iii. 84. 4, *cum adesset usus*. **teneat et noverit.** The present subj. (c. 40. 4) instead of the more regular imperfect, because the dependent clause depends on a perf. participle, which itself belongs to a principal clause with a present tense in it (*iubet*).

2–4. **ex omn. castris**, c. 69. 7. **complures**, viz., *equitum nostrorum*. **superiores**, judging from the success of their marksmen.

6–9. **Germani**, *i.e.*, the cavalry, who had (c. 67) also decided the battle. **sui colligendi**, iii. 6. 1. **ab Alesia**, c. 43. 5. **vict. desperata**, iii. 3. 3.

81.—1. **uno die**, 'after the lapse of one day,' and one day only (*unus* emphatic as usual; see c. 32. 3 *n.*), so that emphasis is laid on the *short* time in which the missiles were made by the Gauls. **Galli**: on its position as subject cp. 77. 14 *n.* **harpagones**, hooks fastened to poles to pull away portions of the wall (also used for grappling ships, *Bell. Civ.* i. 57. 2). **campestres munitiones**, the entrenchments in the level; c. 69. 3.

2, 3. **de**, with a transitive verb; i. 42. 1 *n.* **crates proicere**, to cover over trenches; c. 79. 4, *fossam cratibus integunt*. **educit**: an object is to be supplied from *suis*, as it is not used absolutely by Caesar (though it is common in Livy, of a general).

4. **ut cuique...erat**, c. 80. 1. **fundis librilibus**, (1) taken together=*fundis quibus lapides libriles iaciebantur*, and so a kind of catapult, or (2) separately *librilia=instrumenta bellica, saxa scilicet ad brachii crassitudinem in morem flagellorum loris revincta* (Festus, p. 116). **sudibus**, v. 40. 6.

6. **ad defendendum**: cp. viii. 37. 3, *partem oppidi sumit ad obsidendum*. **intellexerant...submittebant**, iii. 4. 2; 14. 6.

82.—1. **se stimulis induebant**: cp. 73. 4. **pilis muralibus**, v. 40. 6. **ex superioribus castris**, c. 80. 2.

3. **interiores**, the enemy in the town. **priores fossas**, the trenches with perpendicular sides (c. 72. 1), and one of the

two mentioned *ib.* § 3, so that between them and the wall (*munitiones*) only one trench remained to be crossed.

83.—1, 2. **sup. castrorum**, not that mentioned in c. 82, lying north-west of Alesia, but another to the north-east of this. The *campestres munitiones* are part of the Roman line of circumvallation. **fecerant**, '*accordingly* they had made,' but the asyndeton in the Latin is to bring out the contrast. **et leniter declivi** is a more exact continuation of *iniquo*, and shows wherein the *iniquitas* consisted. The height is now Mont Réa.

4, 5. **ex omni numero earum civitatum** = *ex omnibus iis civitatibus.* **adeundi** = *adoriendi castra.* **videatur**, subj. as being virtual *oratio obliqua.* **montem** : a mountain which lay to the north-west of the hill mentioned c. 82.

84.—1. **musculi** : Intr. § 31. 2. **falces**, iii. 14. 5.

4. **post tergum pugnantibus**, to the combatants in their rear. **quod constare**, c. 21. 3, 'because they are conscious that danger to themselves depended on the safety of others'; *i.e.*, if the others were not saved, there would be danger to themselves.

85.—1. **idoneum locum** : very probably on the highest of the hills, due south of Alesia. **submittit**, without its object (*auxilium*) is more vigorous in a picture of this kind than if *auxilium* had been inserted; cp. iv. 11. 2, the use of *praemittere.* 2. **ad animum occurrit** : here only in Caesar; generally *animo occ.* or *occurrit* only.

4–6. **iniquum...fastigium**, 'the unfavourable slope of the ground downwards,' c. 83. 2. **quae occultaverant**, the *lilia*, *stimulos*, etc.

86.—2. **imperet...pugnaret...faciat.** On the sequence of tenses see i. 3. 5. **si sustinere** (used absolutely) **non posset...pugnaret** : Caesar ordered him, if he could not hold out against the enemy storming the camp, to withdraw his troops from the walls and sally out. **eruptione**, *abl. modi.*

4. **interiores**, 'the garrison', as c. 82. 3. **desperatis**, 'when they had given up all hope of carrying the works on the level.' **ex ascensu** (cp. *ex itinere*, i. 25. 6 *n.*), 'straight from the climb.' The works are those on the heights. **loca praerupta**, the declivities of the hill *Réa.* **propter magn. munitionum.**

As we should expect, and as the excavations prove, the works on the level were more extensive than those on the higher points.

5. **aggere**, c. 58. 1. **propugnantes**, a substantive; **vall. rescindunt**, iii. 5. 1.

87.—5. **poterant**, impf. after *postquam* implies that they had *already* resisted for some time. Contrast the tenses in *Bell. Civ.* iii. 60. 5, *postquam id difficilius visum est, neque facultas perficiendi dabatur*, Roby, § 1491. **coactis una**, c. 75. 5. **xl.**, see Crit. Appendix. **facit certiorem.** He lets Caesar know that he is going to carry out his advice *eruptione pugnare;* and so Caesar hurries up to take part in the fray.

88.—1. **quo insigni** (substantive)=the scarlet *paludamentum*, or general's cloak; Intr. § 16. **ut**, 'as,' v. 43. 5 *n.* **de locis superioribus**, the hill crest occupied by the Gauls. Labienus was anxious to defer the sally until Caesar's arrival; when the enemy saw this they at once joined battle.

2. **excipit**, 'follows immediately'; *Bell. Civ.* ii. 7. 3, *re cognita tantus luctus excepit.* See vi. 43. 1 *n.* [*Excipit* may however be taken absolutely, as Liv. ii. 61. 1, *turbulentior inde annus excepit.*]

3. **omissis** ('throwing aside') **pilis...gerunt**, i. 52. 3; Sall. *Cat.* 60. 2, *maximo clamore infestis signis concurrunt, pila omittunt, gladiis res geritur.* The Romans did not use their missiles as the enemy was above them. **equitatus**, those mentioned in 87. 4; **cohortes**, the reinforcements under Caesar himself. Notice the freshness and vigour which the *Asyndeton* gives to the description of this battle.

89.—1, 2. **necessitatium.** This form of the gen. occurs in *civitatium*, iv. 3. 1; vii. 36. 2; viii. 23. 1; *B. Alex.* 49. 2, *simultatium;* Roby, § 445. **se illis offerre**, ii. 3. 2.

5. **si...posset**, vi. 29. 4. **toto exercitui**, each separate soldier; cp. Suet. *Caes.* c. 26, *singula municipia ex praeda viritim dedit.* The dat. *toto* (for *toti*) occurs in viii. 34. 4; *nullo*, vi. 13. 1; *alterae*, v. 27. 5 *n.* **Ver. deditur**, the picturesque details of this event (see Merivale, ed. 1870, vol. 2, p. 67, ch. xii.) in Plut. *Caes.* c. 27, and Florus, iii. 10, have no historical credibility. Vercingetorix was taken prisoner and in B.C. 46 led as the fairest ornament of Caesar's triumph through the streets of Rome, and then put to death. [Dio (40. 41, 43. 19) is our sole authority for this last fact, and his

charges of cruelty against Caesar, where he can be confronted with the statements of others, are often disproved (Merivale, l.c.)].

90.—1. **recipit**=*in deditionem recipit*, vi. 8. 7.

5. **accipiant**, viz., the Remi, who had taken no part in the war, c. 63. 7.

7. **Bibracte**, abl. ; so viii. 2. 1 ; on locative *Bibracti* see c. 55. 4 *n.*

8. **his [litteris] cognitis** : *his* must be neuter, and for *litteris* Caesar would have written *ex litteris*, even if the heap of confusion with the abls. can be defended from i. 10. 5, *compluribus his proeliis pulsis.* **supplicatio** : see the end of books ii. and iv. **redditur** : this phrase does not elsewhere occur=returning thanks for benefits received ; but cp. such usages as *praemia, vota,* (*tura diis*) *reddere.*

GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX.

Admagetobriga (i. 31), Keltic town, where Ariovistus defeated the Gauls, site unknown.

Aduatuca (vi. 32), a fortress in the land of the Eburones; exact site unknown.

Aduatuci (ii. 4, 16, 29, 31; v. 27, 28, 39, 56; vi. 2, 33), a tribe of German origin, on the left bank of the *Meuse* (*Maas*), later called the Tongri. **Aduatucorum oppidum**, now called *Tongres.*

Aedui (i. 10, 11, passim), powerful Keltic tribe between the Liger (*Loire*) and Arar (*Saône*), near *Lyon.* Allies of Rome, revolt, but are mercifully treated (vii. 89).

Agedincum (vi. 44; vii. 10, 57, 59), capital of the Senones, on the Icauna (*Yonne*), afterwards called Senones, now *Sens*, in the district of *Champagne* [not *Agedicum*, Glück, p. 15].

Alesia (vii. 68 f.), stronghold of the Mandubii, now *Alise Ste. Reine* on Mont Auxois, dep. *Côte d'or*, west of Dijon.

Allobrŏges, sing. *Allobrox* (i. 6, 10, 11; vii. 64), powerful Keltic mountain tribe, N. and N.W. of the Rhone, S. of the Isara (*Isère*), reaching E. to the Alps; = therefore the N. part of *Dauphiné* and Savoy; capital Vienna (*Vienne*) on the Rhone (vii. 9), conquered by Fabius Maximus, and later (B.C. 60) pacified after an insurrection by Gaius Pomptinus (i. 6. 2; cp. Intr. p. xi.).

Alpes, natural frontier between the two Gauls, trans- and cis-alpine. Its various ranges have various names 'A. COTTIAE,' 'GRAIAE' (*Mont Cenis, little St. Bernard* to *Aosta*), POENINAE not *Penninae* (from *Great St. Bernard* to *St. Gothard*). The PASSES which Caesar mentions are those by *Mont Génèvre* (i. 10. 3 *n.*) and *Great St. Bernard* (iii. 1. 2).

Ambarri (i. 11, 14), Keltic tribe, W. of the Allobroges, on both banks of the Arar (*Saône*): clients of the Aedui, *Aedui Ambarri,* i. 11. 4.

Aulerci, a large Keltic tribe in several divisions:—(1) **Aulerci Brannovīces**, vii. 75, (*Briennois* on the *Loire?*), near their patrons the Aedui. (2) **A. Diablintes** (iii. 9), in the province of *Maine*. (3) **A. Cenomāni** (vii. 75), S.E. of the Diablintes, (4) **A. Eburovīces** (vii. 75), in modern *Perche* in Normandy, capital M e d i o l a n u m (now *Evreux*).

Ausci (iii. 27), tribe of Aquitania, capital Climberrum or Augusta (*Auch*) in *Armagnac*.

Avaricum (vii. 13, 15, 17, 28, 31, 47, 52), now *Bourges*, capital of the Bituriges on the river A v a r a (*Evre*), in a rich country, surrounded by morasses.

Axŏna (ii. 5. 9), the *Aisne*, a tributary of the *Oise*.

Bacēnis Silva (vi. 10, mentioned only by Caesar), probably the W. part of the Thuringian forest, reaching as far as the Harz.

Baleares (ii. 7), inhabitants of the Balearic Islands (belonging to Hispania Tarraconensis; *Majorca*, *Minorca*, and *Iviça*), renowned as slingers.

Batāvorum Insula (iv. 10), formed by the V a c a l u s (*Waal*), the N. arm of the Rhine and the North Sea, now *Betuwe* (or *Betau*). [Tac. *Hist.* 4. 12, *Batavi insulam iuxta sitam occupavere, quam mare Oceanus a fronte, Rhenus amnis tergum et latera circumluit.*]

Belgae, one of the three divisions of Gaul on ethnographic grounds.

Belgium (v. 12, 24, 25), the land of the Belgae as a whole, as Samnium in Italy the whole territory of the Samnites; not (as some) any especial part of it.

Bellovaci (ii. 4, 13, 14; vii. 59, 75), brave Belgic tribe between the *Seine*, *Somme*, and *Oise;* their capital is now *Beauvais*. B r a t u s p a n t i u m (ii. 13), a fortress in N. of their territory near *Breteuil* (according to v. Göler, i. 73, *Montdidier*).

Bibracte (i. 23; vii. 55, 63), capital of the Aedui, Caesar's winter quarters, lying on the hill *Beuvray*, between the *Saône* and *Loire*. The inhabitants afterwards changed their abode to the town which lay a little west at the foot of the hill, called A u g u s t o d u n u m (Tac. *Ann.* 3. 43), now *Autun* in the dep. Saône-et-Loire.

Bibrax (ii. 6), town of the Remi, either *Beaurieux* or *Vieux Laon*.

Bibrŏci (v. 21), town in S.E. Britain [*Bray ?*].

Bigerriones (iii. 27), Aquitanian tribe on the Pyrenees, E. of the Tarbelli, now *Bigorre*, capital T a r b a (*Tarbes*) in dep. *Hautes-Pyrénées*.

Bituriges, a Keltic tribe in two branches :—(1) **B. Vibisci**, on the banks of the *Garonne* in modern *Médoc*, with capital B u r d i g a l a (*Bordeaux*), a place of considerable commerce, afterwards the seat of learning. (2) **B. Cubi** (vii. 5, 15), in modern *Berry*, *Bourbonnais*, and *Touraine ;* possessed iron mines and were skilled in mining and working of metal. Chief towns N o v i o d u n u m and A v a r i c u m ; burnt down more than twenty of their towns in one day.

Boii (i. 5, 25, 28, 29 ; vii. 9), a powerful and migratory Keltic tribe ; conquered in N. Italy B.C. 191 ; one part driven from Noricum settled in Pannonia ; another joined with the Helvetii (1. 28), was with these conquered by Caesar, and settled among the Aedui ; *civitas exigua et infirma*, vii. 17 ; capital G o r g o b ĭ n a.

Brannovīces. See A u l e r c i.

Brannovii (vii. 75), Keltic tribe, clients of the Aedui.

Bratuspantium. See B e l l o v a c i.

Britannia (iv. 20–38 ; v. 5–23), first made known by Caesar, but he did not gain a permanent footing there or more than an imperfect idea of its geography (*e.g.*, he places Hibernia too far S., Germany too far N.). He became acquainted with only the S.E. corner (Cantium, *Kent*) [Julius Agricola, A.D. 78-84, first conquered the S. part of the island]. Caesar reckons its circuit as about 2,000 *milia passuum*. He found there inhabitants of two stocks :—(1) The Caledonians ; (2) a Keltic people, in language, religion, and customs, like the Kelts in Gaul, the oldest representatives of the pure Druid-cult (vi. 13. 11 *n.*). For Caesar's landing at Deal in August B.C. 55, see iv. 23. 6 *n.*; here he landed next year also, and crossed the Tamesis (*Thames*), see v. 18. 1. The chief tribe was the Trinobantes (*Essex* and *Suffolk*) with chief town Camulodunum (*Colchester*).

Cabillonum (vii. 42, 90) = *Chalons-sur-Saône* in Burgundy ; important town of the Aedui on the *Saône ;* emporium of Roman merchants.

Cadurci (vii. 4, 75), Keltic tribe in modern *Quercy ;* capital D i v ō n a (now *Cahors*) on the *Lot.*

Cherusci, Cimbri. See G e r m a n i a.

Cisalpina Gallia. See G a l l i a.

Cisrhenani Germani, vi. 2.

Cocosātes (iii. 27), tribe in Aquitania, on the coast N. of the mouth of the *Adour ; Castets* in dep. *des Landes.*

Condrusi (ii. 4 ; iv. 6 ; vi. 32), a German tribe in Belgium, on the right bank of the *Meuse* (*Maas*) *;* clients of the Treveri, *Pays de Condroz* near *Liège* (*Lüttich*).

Curiosolītes (ii. 34 ; iii. 7 ; vii. 75), Aremoric tribe in Keltic Gaul ; its name still preserved in *Corseult*, dep. *Côtes du Nord*, near *St. Malo.*

Daci (vi. 25), a brave tribe, settled in D a c i a (roughly= *Transylvania* and *Moldavia*), bounded on S. by the Danube, on N. by the Carpathian Mountains [A.D. 105 made a Roman province, under Trajan].

Danuvius (vi. 25), the Danube. Its E. part still bears its older name I s t e r [not Danubius].

Decetia (vii. 33), town of the Aedui on the *Loire* now *Decize.*

Diablintes. See A u l e r c i.

Dubis (i. 38), the *Doubs*, a tributary of the *Saône*, rising in the *Jura* range.

Durocortŏrum (vi. 44), later R e m i, now *Rheims ;* capital of the Remi. [In later times the intersecting point of important military roads.]

Eburones (ii. 4 ; iv. 6 ; v. 24), Belgian tribe between *Liège* (*Lüttich*) and *Aix-la-Chapelle* (*Aachen*) *;* clients of the Treveri (iv. 6), *civitas ignobilis atque humilis* (v. 28), they destroy a Roman garrison (v. 26 f.), and are annihilated by Caesar (vi. 34, 35, 43).

Eburovices. See A u l e r c i.

Elăver (vii. 34, 35, 53), the *Allier*, tributary of the *Loire*, rising in the *Cevennes ;* its N. part divides the Bituriges from the Boii.

Eleuteti (vii. 75), one of the tribes under the sway of the Arverni. [The former reading was E l e u t h e r i C a d u r c i.]

Elusātes (iii. 27), tribe in Aquitania, in modern *Condomois:* capital Elusa, now Ciutat (a ruin) near Eauze.

Esubii (ii. 34 ; iii. 7 ; v. 24), Keltic tribe in *Normandy* near the Aulerci [spelt Esuvii before Glück].

Gabăli (vii. 64, 75), Keltic tribe, clients of the Arverni ; E. of the Ruteni, on the frontier of 'the Province,' in *Gévaudan* in the *Cevennes.*

Gallia, the lands of the Kelts or Gauls [Κέλται, Γαλάται, Galli] in Caesar's time fell into two main divisions :—(1) **G. citerior** (or **Cisalpina**), the North part of Italy including the basin of the Po, occupied by Gallic tribes from about B.C. 400. [In Book viii. 24, 52, called *G. togata.*] (2) **G. ulterior** (or **transalpina**), roughly corresponding to modern *France*, but also including the greater part of *Switzerland*, the *Netherlands*, and that part of *Germany* which lies W. of the *Rhine.* [For the threefold division of G. transalpina see Aquitani, Belgae, Celtae ; see also Provincia ; and the notes on i. 1.]

Garumna, the *Garonne*, the boundary between Aquitania and Keltic Gaul, rising among the Garumni in the Pyrenees.

Garumni (iii. 27). See Garumna.

Gates (iii. 27), Aquitanian tribe in *Gaure.*

Geidumni (v. 39), Belgic tribe, clients of the Nervii [not Geidunni, see Schneider and Glück, p. 102].

Genava (i. 6, 7), now *Geneva* (*Genf*), town of the Allobroges, at the point where the Rhone issues from the lacus Lemannus. [Both Genua and Geneva are modern forms of the words, later even than the Merovingian age—Mommsen.]

Gergovia (vii. 4, 34, 36, 41, 44–53), town (probably capital, vii. 4) of the Arverni, on a spur of the *Auvergne* range, about four miles S. of *Clermont*, rising about 2,200 feet. Precipitously overhanging the *Allier* valley in the E., and the streamlets *Artières* in the N., and *Auzon* in the S., its only approach is at the S.W., through a narrow defile (*les Goules*, vii. 44. 3), which connects it with the heights of *Risolles*, which again, by a second defile at the village *Opme* (here were the Gallic entrenchments mentioned c. 44. 5), are connected with the *Puy de Giroux* and the main line of the *Auvergne.* The flat tableland on which the city lay (vii. 36) forms a fairly regular rectangle, measuring a little over 1,500 yards from W. to E. and over 500 from N. to S. The precipices, steepest on the N. and E., less abrupt on S. (hence Caesar made his attack here), are broken by more or less wide terraces on which the

camps of the Gauls (mentioned in 36. 2, 46. 3) lay. Between the S. foot of the hill and the *Auzon* rises a steep, isolated hill, *La Roche Blanche,* on which stood Caesar's smaller camp (36, 49). His main camp was pitched E.S.E. of the *Allier,* on a slight eminence which rises from the plain N. of the village *Orcet.* The old name is still kept in the demesne Gergovia on the E. of the hill.

Germania, according to the Romans, bounded by the Rhine, Danube, Weichsel, and Ocean. The manners and customs of the Germani described (cursorily and imperfectly) in vi. 1; id. 21 ff. The chief tribes described by Caesar are :—(1.) **Suēbi** (i. 37, 51, 54; iv. 1, 2, 8, etc.) comprising 100 pagi, and surrounded on all sides by waste land. The name perhaps means 'nomads,' and was in Caesar's time scarcely the name of a district, though this it became afterwards (Mommsen). Caesar's Suebi were apparently the Chatti. (2.) **Cherusci** (vi. 10), separated from the Suebi by the Silva Bacenis, between the Weser and Elbe, the Harz and Aller. (3.) **Ubii**, friendly to Caesar (from them he got his German horse, vii. 13) and on this account hated by the other Germans (i. 54; iv. 3, 18, 19), on the right (E.) bank of the Rhine from the Lahn to Cologne. They were transplanted to the W. bank by Agrippa, B.C. 37, and their capital, oppidum Ubiorum, was A.D. 50 called Colonia Agrippina, hence *Cologne* or *Köln.* (4.) **Sugambri** (iv. 16, 18), on the river *Sieg,* reaching north to the *Lippe.* (5.) **Marcomanni** (1. 51) or *Marchmen* (*i.e.,* 'borderers'), no one distinct tribe, but including all those who dwelt on the frontier, Mommsen. (6.) **Usipĕtes**, always in connection with the **Tencteri** (iv. 1, 4, 16. 18). They had once dwelt elsewhere, but had been, together with the Tencteri, driven out by the Suebi and crossed the Rhine; defeated by Caesar they settled down on the N. bank of the *Lippe.* Between these peoples are mentioned the **Harudes** (i. 31, 37, 51), between the Rhine, Main, and Danube, descended from North Jutland, a relic of the Cimbrian march of the Cimbri. **Nemetes** (i. 52; vi. 25), on the left bank of the Rhine (*Speier*). **Triboces** (i. 61), **-ci** (iv. 10), near *Strasbourg.* **Vangiones** (i. 51), on the Rhine, capital Borbetomăgus, later Vangiones, now *Worms.* **Latovici** [so mss., not Latobrigi] (i. 5, 28, 29), neighbours of the Helvetii on the Rhine, so the **Tulingi**. **Sedusii** (i. 51), position unknown. **Cimbri** and **Teutoni** (i. 33, 40; ii. 4, 29; vii. 77) [on the form in *-i* see i. 33. 4 *n.*], in North Jutland and on the Baltic; in B.C. 113 swarmed over Gaul and even into Italy.

Gorgobĭna (vii. 9), town of the transplanted Boii, who had

settled down among the Aedui. Perhaps = *Charlieu* on the *Loire*, or *Gergeau*, near *Orléans*. [According to v. Göler (i. 237) *Guerche*, W. of the *Allier*, S. of *Bourges*; according to Napoleon III., *St. Parize-le-Châtel*, between the *Allier* and *Loire*.]

Graiocĕli (i. 10), tribe of the Graian Alps, near *M. Cenis*. Their town Ocelum (*Drubiaglio*), probably at the entrance of the valley of the *Dora Ripaira*.

Grudii (v. 39), tribe in Belgium, clients of the Nervii. According to Walckenaer in E. Flanders, near *Oudenarde*.

Harudes. See Germania.

Helvetii (i. 1, 12, 26, 29; iv. 10, and often), a brave Keltic people between the Jura, Lake of Geneva, Rhone, and Rhine, as far as Lake Constance; in four cantons (pagi) of which Caesar names only the *pagus* Verbigenus, i. 27 (not in canton *Solothurm*, this idea resting on a spurious inscription) and Tigurinus, this last near *Murten* and *Avenches* (Aventicum), in modern *Uechtland* and *Waadtland*, not *Zürich*. Caesar describes their land (i. 2, 5). They had twelve towns, i. 5; documents giving their number, i. 29.

Helvii (vii. 8, 64), a Keltic tribe in 'the Province,' among the Cevennes, in modern *Vivarez* or *Languedoc*. Their city, Alba Augusta (now *Alps*) near *Viviers*.

Hercynia Silva (vi. 24, 25) stretched, according to Caesar, sixty days' journey in length, nine in breadth, to the borders of Dacia, including therefore the whole mountainous part of Germany, from the *Black Forest* to the *Carpathians*.

Hibernia (v. 13), Ireland.

Hispania Citerior (iii. 23), cavalry (v. 26), rigging for ships (v. 1), and horses (vii. 55), supplied thence.

Illyricum (ii. 35; iii. 7), the country on N.E. of Adriatic (Dalmatia and Istria) belonging to Caesar's province.

Itius Portus (v. 2, 5), Gallic harbour from which Caesar on his second expedition set sail. That this is the basin of the *Liane*, near *Boulogne*, has been well-nigh proved for certain by Desjardin (*Géogr.* i. 348 f.). He distinguishes the portus Itius from Gesoriacum (afterwards Bononia, now *Boulogne*, often mentioned from the time of Claudius). It is uncertain if Caesar sailed the first time from the

same harbour, as the words (v. 2) *commodissimum in Britanniam traiectum esse cognoverat* may refer either to his experience on the first voyage, or to information received afterwards. If, however, he then sailed from Boulogne, the portus ulterior (iv. 23) or superior (28) will be Ambleteuse about *octo milia passuum*, N. of Boulogne. Von Göler maintains that Caesar sailed from different harbours, making out portus Itius to be *Calais* (i. p. 145); the first expedition, according to him, set out from *Wissant*, E. of *Cape Gris-Nez*, and he identifies portus ulterior with portus Itius. Heller and Kiepert (§ 263, note 3) make *Wissant* portus Itius, *Sangatte* (*Calais*) the portus ulterior.

Iura Mons (i. 2, 6), a range of mountains running from the Rhine at *Basel* (*Bâle*) S.W. to the Rhone, near *Lyon*, dividing the Sequani and Helvetii and leaving a very narrow pass between the mountains and the river, *vix qua singuli carri ducerentur*. Kiepert, § 253.

Latovici. See Germania.

Lemannus lacus, Lake *Leman* (or of *Geneva*). Kiepert, § 256, 260.

Lemovices (vii. 4, 75), Keltic tribe in modern Limousin, capital Augustoritum (*Limoges*).

Lepontii (iv. 10), Alpine tribe, between *St. Gothard* and the *Lago Maggiore*.

Leuci (iv. 40), Keltic tribe in *S. Lorraine*, capital Tullum (*Toul* on the *Moselle*).

Levăci (v. 39), Belgic tribe, clients of the Nervii, near *Lovendeghern*, not far from *Ghent*, or near *Louvain*.

Lexovii (iii. 9, 11, 17, 29; vii. 75), one of the Aremoric states at the mouth of the Seine; capital Noviomagus (*Lisieux*) in Normandy.

Liger (iii. 9; vii. 5, 11, 53, 55, 56), *Loire*, separated the Bituriges from Aedui, receives the *Allier*.

Lingones (i. 26, 40; iv. 10), Keltic tribe among the *Vosges*, at the sources of the *Meuse* (*Maas*) and *Marne*, separated by the *Saône* from the Sequani; capital Andematunnum, later Lingones, now *Langres*.

Lutetia (vi. 3; vii. 57), town of the Parisii, on an island in the Seine, near Paris.

Mandubii (vii. 68, 78), Keltic tribe N. of the Aedui, capital Alesia.

Marcomanni. See Germania.

Matisco (vii. 90), town of the Aedui, on the *Saône*, now *Mâcon.*

Matrŏna (i. 1), *Marne*, rises near the source of the *Meuse* (*Maas*), and after a N.W. course joins the Seine near Paris.

Mediomatrĭces (iv. 10), **-ci** (vii. 75), Keltic tribe, E. of the Remi, S. of the Treveri, on the German frontier, capital Divodurum, later Meltis, now *Metz.*

Meldi, -ae, (v. 5), Keltic tribe on the Marne N.E. of Paris, where Caesar had ships built for his British expedition.

Menapii (ii. 4; iii. 9; iv. 4, 38; vi. 2, 5, 9), Belgic tribe between the *Meuse* (*Maas*) and *Scheldt*, S. of the Batavi, in thick woods and swamps, driven from their former home on the Rhine by the Usipetes and Tencteri. The Castellum Menapiorum is now *Cassel* on the *Meuse* between *Roermonde* and *Venloo* [Kiepert, p. 278].

Metiosedum (vii. 38 f.), town of the Senones, on an island in the *Seine.* [The later name Melodunum (*Melun*), which stands in many mss., applied originally only to the suburb on the right bank opposite Metiosedum itself, but in course of ages was transferred to the whole town.]

Mona (v. 13), *Anglesea*, which is still by its inhabitants called *Mon.* The *Isle of Man* was called Monapia, *i.e.*, *Mon-aw* (=' Man of the Water').

Morĭni (ii. 4; iii. 9, 29; iv. 21, 22, 37, 38; v. 24; vii. 75, 76), Belgic coast tribe, from the *Scheldt* to *Boulogne* in *Picardy.* [Verg. *Aen.* 8. 727, *extremique hominum Morini*].

Mosa (iv. 10, 12, 15, 16; vi. 33), *Meuse* (*Maas*), rising in the Lingones, flows through the Silva Arduenna, receiving the waters of the Sabis (*Sambre*) and joining the Vacalus (*Waal*): see iv. 15 *n.*, where some—even Göler, i. p. 121—propose to read Mosellae for Mosae, and make the Usipetes cross near Coblenz; but Heller has remarked that Caesar would not have described the Meuse and Waal, as he has done, if they had had no bearing on that war.

Namnētes (iii. 9), Keltic tribes on the N. bank of the *Loire*, capital Condivincum (*Nantes*).

Nantuātes (iii. 1, 6), Keltic Alpine tribe, on the frontier of 'the Province.' In iv. 10, unless Caesar has made a mistake, another branch must have dwelt in the Upper Rhine valley, in Grau.

Narbo (iii. 20; vii. 7), *Narbonne*, flourishing commercial town of the Volcae Arecomici in the province on the Atax (*Aude*). In B.C. 118, L. Licinius Crassus (Vell. 1. 15; Cic. *Brut.* 43, 160) transplanted to a Roman colony, Narbo Martius (so the inscriptions; derived therefore from Mars, not from Q. Marcius, the consul, who moreover had nothing to do with it), capital of 'the Province' which thence gained the name Gallia Narbonensis.

Nemetes. See Germania.

Nemetocenna. See Atrebates.

Nervii (ii. 5, 15-28; v. 24, 38-43, 49, 51, 56; vi. 2, 3, 29; vii. 75), warlike Belgic tribe, W. of the Menapii, from the coast reaching S. to the Silva Arduenna (*Hennegan* and *Namur*), capital Bagacum (*Bavay*).

Nitiobrŏges (vii. 7, 31, 75), Aquitanian tribe on both banks of the Oltis (*Lot*); capital Aginnum (*Agen*) on the Garonne. [Greek Νιτιόβριγες as Ἀλλόβριγες; Latin always -broges.]

Noreia (i. 5, 53) *Neumarkt* in *Styria*, the old capital of the Taurisci (or Norici, Roman name) inland. Noricum in Caesar's time was under a king Voccio, who later on (*Bell. Civ.* i. 18) sent him 300 Noric horse. Here the Cimbri defeated C. Carbo, B.C. 113; see also Kiepert, § 197.

Noviodunum: 1. (ii. 12) of the Suessiones on the *Aisne*, later Augusta Suessionum, now *Soissons*. 2. (vii. 12, 13) of the Bituriges Cubi, W. of the Loire, N.W. of Avaricum. [Göler makes it *Nouan-le-Fuzélier;* others *Neuvy sur-Barangeon;* Napoleon, *Sancerre.*] 3. (vii. 55) of the Aedui, on the right bank of the Loire = *Nevers*. [-dun in Keltic = 'a hill.']

Numĭdae (ii. 7, 10, 24), African tribe, auxiliaries in Caesar's army: ii. 7. 1. *n.*

Ocĕlum. See Graioceli.

Ocĕănus: 1. The *Atlantic*, *e.g.*, i. 1; iii. 7, 9. 2. *North Sea*, iv. 29; vi. 33. [Caesar calls the *Mediterranean* nostrum mare, v. 1.]

Octodurus (iii. 1–6), *Martigny*, town of the Veragri. The stream which flows through it is the Dranse.

Osismi (ii. 34; iii. 9; vii. 75), one of the Aremoric States, in *Brittany*.

Taměsis (v. 11, 18), the *Thames.*

Tarbelli (iii. 27), Aquitanian tribe between the *Adour* and the *Pyrenees,* dep. *Basses-Pyrénées.*

Tarusates (iii. 23, 27), Aquitanian tribe, N. of the *Adour,* dep. *Landes;* Tartas between *Dax* and *Mont de Marsan.*

Tectosăges. See Volcae.

Tencteri. See Germania.

Teutoni. See Germania.

Tigurinus pāgus. See Helvetii.

Tolōsa (*Toulouse*). See Volcae.

Tolosates (i. 10; iii. 20; vii. 7), people of Tolosa (see Volcae).

Treveri (i. 37; ii. 24; iii. 11; v. 3, 53; vi. 9; vii. 63), brave Keltic tribe of German origin, on both banks of the Moselle. Augusta Treverorum = *Trier* (*Trèves*).

Triboces. See Germania.

Trinobantes. See Britannia.

Tulingi. See Germania.

Turoni (ii. 35; vii. 4, 75), Keltic tribe on the *Loire,* in *Touraine:* capital Caesarodunum = *Tours.*

Ubii., **Usipetes.** } See Germania.

Vacalus, the *Waal:* see Rhenus.

Vangiones. See Germania.

Veliocasses (ii. 4), -si (vii. 75), on the N. bank of the *Seine* in *Normandy,* capital Rotomagus (*Rouen*). The name is preserved in the district *Vexin.* [For spelling Veloc- and Vellioc- cp. Glück p. 161.]

Vellaunodunum (vii. 11), town of the Senones, W. of Agedincum. [*Montargis, Ladon* (Göler i. 239), *Château Ladon, Beaune, Triguères* (Napoleon) have been taken as the exact site.

Vellavi (vii. 75, Crit. Note), Keltic tribe, clients of the Arvernii; = *Velay* in the *Cevennes.*

Venelli (ii. 34; iii. 17; vii. 75), one of the Aremoric tribes, in N.W. of *Normandy.* [Not Unelli, Glück p. 164.]

Veněti (ii. 34; iii. 7–16; iv. 21; vii. 75, **Venětia** (iii. 9) their territory), one of the Aremoric tribes, powerful at sea: capital Venetae (*Vannes* in Brittany). Their territory

reached as far S. as the mouth of the Loire, near which probably the sea fight (iii. 15–18) took place [Desjardin i. p. 281 f.].

Veragri (iii. 1), Keltic tribe near the Poenine Alps, at the junction of *Rhone* and *Drave*.

Verbigenus pagus. See H e l v e t i i.

Vesontio (*Besançon*). See S e q u a n i.

Vienna (vii. 9), (*Vienne*). See A l l o b r o g e s.

Viromandui (ii. 4, 16), Belgian tribe, on the upper *Somme;* = *Vermandais* [not V e r o m -, Glück p. 184].

Vocates (iii. 23, 27), Aquitanian tribe on the *Garonne*, above *Bordeaux;* = *Bazas* in dep. *Gironde*.

Vocontii (i. 10), Keltic tribe in 'the Province,' on the E. of the Rhone.

Volcae, powerful Keltic tribe in 'the Province,' reaching from Aquitania to the Rhone (vi. 24; vii. 64), which had under Brennus invaded Greece. 1. **V. Tectosăges**, at the foot of the Pyrenees as far E. as Narbo, capital (iii. 20) T o l o s a on the *Garonne*, a large and wealthy town. [Some of these wandered away into G a l a t i a in Asia Minor.] 2. **V. Arecomici**, farther E., capital N e m a u s u s (Namausus), now *Nîmes;* see also N a r b o.

Vosĕgus (iv. 10), roughly = (but wider than) the *Vosges*, German *Wasgenwald*, including *Monts Faucilles* and the plateau of *Langres*. Lucan (i. 397) places V o s e g u s in the land of the L i n g o n e s.

CRITICAL APPENDIX.

[*Note.* |*sic*| indicates passages inserted with little or no ms. authority. β = the interpolated class of cod. add. = *addit, addidit;* corr. = *correxit.*]

BOOK I.

Ch. 1. 5: *eorum una*], Prammer, *ea*. 2. 4: *qua ex parte*], Prammer with one ms., *qua ex re;* Oudendorp, *qua re*. 3. 3: Prammer, *lege confirmant. Orgetorix sibi legationem ad c. s.* 5. 4: Mss. *Rauracis* and *Latovicis*, corr. Glück. 7. 1: early edd. *Genevam, Genuam*. 8. 1: Dübner, *a lacu L, qua in R.* 9. 2: *Aeduum*], not *Haeduum*, Glück, p. 9; Frigell iii. 1. p. 22. 10. 5: not *Segusiani*, Glück, p. 152. 11. 4: *Aedui Ambarri*], Heller om. *Aedui*. Walther, *tempore* |*atque*| *A*. Dinter: *tempore* |*quo*| *A*. 12. 4: Paul om. *nam omnis civitas...divisa est* as a gloss. But *fere* shows that *quarta pars* here merely = $\frac{1}{4}$, and does not (as he holds) by itself imply that the H. were divided into 4 *pagi;* especially as these need not have been numerically equal. 13. 6: Mss. *quam dolo contenderent;* corr. Dinter. 15. 3: *a novissimo agm.*], Prammer om. *a*. 4. *rapinis, pabulationibus populationibusque*], Paul om. *pabulationibus;* Heller omitted *populationibus*; Prammer would omit *rapinis*. 16. 6: Prammer, *cum* |*frumentum*| *neque*. 17. 2: The text is due to Heller, see also Madv. *Adv.* ii. 248. 6. *necessaria re*], so Koch; mss. *-am rem* (kept by Prammer); Schenkl, *necessario rem vocatus;* Nipperdey and Frigell, *necessario rem coactus*. 19. 3: *Procillum*], Holder (from inscriptions) *Troucillum*.

24. 2: *veteranorum* mss., corr. Dittenberger. *ita uti supra*], omitted by Oudendorp. 3. *interea* (before *sarcinas*) omitted by Prammer. 5. *confertissima acie*] omitted by Paul, as gloss on *phalange facta*. 25. 1: *ut aequato omnium periculo*], Kraffert omitted *omnium* as interpolated from 1st part of sentence. 5. *spatio*], wanting in mss., added by Dinter: *mons mille passuum* (gen of quality) = 'a mountain a mile distant' is not Latin. Nor is *mille* a subst. with a partitive gen., as *subesse* cannot take such an acc. Prammer (instead of inserting *spatio*) reads *aberat*. 26. 6: *qui iuvissent*], Madv. *Adv.* ii. 246. If however he means that in conditional sentences *qui* is inadmissible, and that it should have stood *si iuvissent, se habiturum*, because in *oratio recta* it would have been *si iuveritis, habebo*, then c. 44. 11 is against him; where we find *qui nisi decedat...sese illum...habiturum* where, in or. recta, *nisi decedes...habebo*. Paul, *si qui iuvissent*, to bring out that the actions of individuals among the Lingones would be visited on the state *as a whole*: but this cannot be fairly got from the words. 29. 2: *quarum omnium rerum*], Prammer *quorum omnium* (to prevent *rerum* being used of men). 30. 2: Prammer om. *pop. Rom.* (after *iniuriis*). 31. 1: Frigell om. *in occulto* (after *secreto*). 12. *Admagetobria*, so the best mss. and Mommsen. The inscriptions on which *Magetobria*, *Magetobriga* rest are spurious: nor does any district *la Moigte de Broie* exist. 13. Pluygers, *non posse* |*se*| *eius imperia*. 34. 1: *utriusque* condemned by Kraffert (as interpolated from the next line, and because *medius* in Caesar does not take the gen.; but see note). Prammer suggests taking it with *colloquio*. 38. 5: mss. *sexcentorum*], Napoleon corr.; the exact distance was 1620 Roman feet. 39. 1: *aciem oculorum dicebant*], Dübner om. *dicebant*. 5. *vulgo...obsignabantur*], omitted by Paul, as a rhetorical interpolation of Florus 1. 45 and Quint. iii. 8. 19. 7. *nuntiabant*], Nipperdey with β. 40. 6: *inermos*], so the best mss. 42. 5: *cui quam maxime*], Madv. omitted *quam*. 43. 2: *vexerat*], Nipperdey *devexerat* with β. 3. *denos ut ad*], Prammer om. *ut*. 4. *hominum*], Paul, *omnino*. 44. 8: *quid sibi vellet, cur*], Nipperdey and Frigell. 45. 1: *posset et neque*], Whitte om. *et*, which may be simply the last two letters of *posset* repeated: see Madv. *Adv.* ii. 249. 46. 3: *per fidem*], Pluygers, *perfide*. 4. *impetumque* |*ut*| *in nostros*, Paul. 47. 1: *e suis* [*legatis*], Kraner, *Obs.* p. 21; *e suis legatum* (cp. § 3): Doberenz. 2. *poterant*, mss.], *potuerant*, Scaliger. 51. 1: *quod minus*], mss., *quo minus*; corr. Paulus Manutius. 52. 5: Lachmann on Lucr. vi. 511 (p. 375) reads *de supero*; but Dittenberger is right in condensing *et...vulnerarent* as the insertion of a reader who

thought that the wall of shields had to be broken down from above. Heller's defence of the words (*Philol.* 31. 538) does not remove the difficulties. 53. 1: Orosius, *circiter quinquaginta;* cp. Plutarch *Caes.* 19, ἐπὶ σταδίους τετρακοσίους ἄχρι τοῦ Ῥήνου διώξας. 4. *utraeque...perierunt*, good mss. 6: *viderat*], α; *videbat*, β.

BOOK II.

1. 1: Codd. *in cit. Gallia in hibernis*, Madv. del. *in hibernis*. 3. 1: *Andecomborium*, see Glück, p. 26. Holder from coins and codd. *Andecombogium*. 4. 6: The best mss. om. *fines* before *latissimos;* Heller inserted it from inferior codd. 7. Holder *Deviciacum* with best mss. *Ib.* Best mss. *suam totius belli summam.* 9. On the spelling *Veliocasses, Viromandui* cp. Glück, pp. 161, 184. 5. 5: Best mss. *posset*, corr. Schneider. 6. Mss. *altitudine*, corr. Aldus. 6. 2: Mss. *portas succendunt*, defended by Vielhaber, etc. Kraner omitted *portas. succedunt*], two poor mss. 4. *unum*, all (but two poor) mss. 8. 3: Best mss. *in frontem*, corr. Heller, to square with actual facts. *Fastigatus*, Aldus; codd. *castigatus, castratus.* 10. 1: *Caesar* omitted by codd. 4. *convenirent*], Polle, *convenire.* 12. 1: *confecto*, del. Nipperdey: defended by Schneider. 15. 4: *ad lux. pertinentium* omitted in best mss., and therefore by Nipperdey and Frigell, but necessary; *eorum*, condemned by Nipperdey as not needed; if any word be needed, *suos* would be better; *virorum* has also been suggested. 5. *dedissent*, all codd. but one poor one. 17. 4: *munimenta*], one ms.; best codd. *munimentis;* Dinter with one ms. *munimentum;* Rörsch, *munimenta iis.* Madvig (*Adv.* ii. 269) om., as no good writer uses *instar* as an adverb. But we may construe *instar muri* (= 'wall-like') *munimenta*, like *epistula instar voluminis*, quoted by Madv. himself. *Inflexis crebrisque*, omitted in best mss., and therefore by Frigell. *Non modo* [*non*], *non* omitted by Dinter and Holder. 19. 2: codd. *hostis, hostes.* Ursinus, *hosti.* Caesar always uses *appropinquare* with dat.; Dinter *ad hostis.* 5. *porrecta ac*], del. Dinter. 8. *et iam...nostris*, del. Paul. 20. 1: *quod erat...oporteret*, condemned by Aldus, Madv., etc. 21. 3: codd. *adici*], Madv. *adigi* (*Adv.* ii. 251), so also at

iii. 13. 8, 14. 4. 5. *inducendas*, codd. 22. 1: codd. *delectusque;* corr. Nipp. Codd. *diversis legionibus;* Ciacconius (or Whitte), *diversae legiones;* Paul, |*e*| *diversis legionibus.* 23. 3: *ex loco superiore*, omitted by Prammer with one ms., as interpolated from § 1. 4. Codd. *quo in dextro;* corr. Schneider. 25. 1: Codd. *desertos* (or *deserto*) *proelio excedere.* But Caesar does not use *excedere* absolute, nor can a private be said *deserere proelium.* Paul suggests *desperato proelio;* Klussmann, *deserto* |*loco*| *proelio exc.;* Geyer, *excedere* |*acie*| *ac tela;* Kvíčala omitted *desertos.* 2. *uni militi*], Vielhaber om. *uni;* Dinter, *militi.* *Quod ipse...venerat*], omitted by Paul. 27. 2: *occurrerunt*, *a*; *occurrerent*, *β*. Codd. *pugnant quo* or *pugne;* Vielhaber, *pugnarunt quo;* Weissenborn, *pugnando;* Nipperdey om. 28. 1: Codd. *collectos;* Glandorp, *coniectos.* *Hac pugna nuntiata* omitted by Kraffert, as interpolated from 29. 1. 29. 3: *despectusque*], Vielhaber, *deiectusque.* 30. 2: *pedum*, codd.; *passuum*, Frigell. Some inferior mss. *xii* (for *xv.*). 4. *hominibus*, *β*; *omnibus*, best mss. *In muros sese conlocare confiderent*, codd.; Kraner, *Obs.* p. 5 and 26, *moturos sese confiderent;* Vielhaber, *sub muros esse conlaturos* (omitted *confiderent*)*;* but with this reading *esse* could not stand. 32. 3: Codd. *nuntiata;* Paul, *renuntiata.* This *re* could easily fall out. 33. 2: *sumptis*, Hug.; *cum his*, codd. 34. *Venellos*, *Esuvios;* cp. Glück, pp. 95, 165. *Dicionem*, *β*; *deditionem*, best mss. 35. 3: *Turonos*], Kraner for codd. *Turones;* for (1) Caesar always declines such words according to the second declension: (2) This form is confirmed by Tac. (*Ann.* iii. 41, 46), and by coins and inscriptions (Desjardins, ii. 482). (3) For the forms *Santonum*, *Teutonum*, etc., see 1. 33. 4 *n.* (4) The change of the one letter may well have been caused by the preceding *Carnut-es*, *And-es*. *Turonesque* (Nipperdey's reading) is so inaccurate that *Turones*, *quaeque* must be read in spite of Schneider's objections. 35. 4: Codd. *dies;* Dinter, |*in*| *dies;* Wesenberg, *dierum.*

BOOK III.

1. 6: *ad hiemandum*], omitted by Kraner, *Obs.* p. 3; Oudendorp transposes it after *cohortibus.* 2. 3: *missi erant, absenti bus propter*, which Schneider, etc., retain. 3. 4: *ad extremum*

|*casum*|, Paul. 4. 1: Nipperdey, *vix ut iis rebus* with β. 3. |*si*| *diuturnitate*, Schenkl. 5. 1: Codd. *nostris*], corr. N. Heinsius. 7. 1: *expulsis Germanis*, omitted by Paul. 2. *hiemabat*, Oudendorp; codd., *hiemarat*, cp. Paul, *Zeitschrift f. Gymn.* 32, p. 172. 8. 1: *impetu*], Lipsius, *ambitu*. 9. 2: Codd. *certiores facti* (after *adventu*), omitted by Aldus. 6. *posse quam Romanos*, Codd.; Tittler, *quarum*, and om. *navium*. 7. *atque apertissimo*, omitted by Frigell with two good mss. 9. *primum esse bellum*, best mss.; β om. *esse*; cp. *Hermes* iii. 375. 12. 1: *bis*], one ms. *iis*, Hug, *is*. Dinter, *accedit* with best mss. Schneider's objection to Kraner's reading is refuted by the passage of Pliny quoted in notes. 13. 6: *hae sive*], Frigell om. *hae* with some early edd. 8. Codd. *adiciebatur*], *adigebatur*, Madv. *Copulis*], see notes; Codd. *scopulis*, except one Paris ms. *scopolis*, which Frigell reads; Vielhaber, *corvis*. *Coepisset et se*], *et* omitted in all mss. except the second hand of cod. Thuaneus (12th cent.). 14. 4: Codd. *adici*], Madv., *adigi*. 15. 1: Codd., *disiectis*; Paul (*Zeitschrift f. Gymn.* 32, p. 167), *deiectis*; Menge, *desectis*. 19. 5: *Caesar* |*est*| *certior factus*, Prammer with β. 20. 1: *quae pars...ex tertia parte Galliae*]. The text is corrupt. Kraner's reading, *Gallia* (*ex tertia parte* cannot be so used), is no better. Dinter, *quae ...tertia pars*. *Ib.*, Prammer would change either *intellegeret* into *sciret*, or *intellegebat* (at end of section) into *existimabat*. 2. Holder (with the codd.), *ex his regionibus*. 21. 1: *tandem*, one poor ms. and three early edd. Codd. *tamen*, which Frigell reads. 3. Codd. *aerariae secturaeque*, and so Holder, etc. Oudendorp, *aerariae secturae*; Nipperdey conj. *aerariae ferrariaeque*, but this word would scarcely have been corrupted into *secturae*. In Schneider's *aerariae structuraeque*, *que* is not wanted. Hoffmann, etc., explains *secturae* by *lapicidinae*. 24. 2: *et si coepissent*], Paul, *aut si*. But if two distinct plans are here meant, *hoc consilio probato*, § 4, is nonsense. The Gauls would refuse the battle offered by the Romans, and by cutting off their supplies compel them to retreat without fighting (not to surrender, as Paul); *victoria potiri* can mean the one as well as the other. 3. *infirmiore animo*, omitted by Paul; Prammer places the words after *rei frumentariae*. Kvíčala changes *infirmiore* into *infirmiores*; Vielhaber, *iniquiore loco*. 5. Codd. *timidiores* (= 'being more afraid than their reputation warranted'; defended by Schneider and Vielhaber); *timoris*, Stephanus. 26. 3: Codd. *proruptis*; Faerno, *prorutis*. 29. 3: *proxime*], Dübner, *maxime*, with β.

BOOK IV.

2. 2: Hug om. *Germani*, changing *his* into *hi*. Prammer (with β) om. *his*. *prava*], Nipperdey (with β), *parva*. § 6 is bracketed by Paul (*Zeitschrift f. Gymn.* 35. 280) as interpolated from ii. 15. 4. Not only does it not fit in here, but *sinere* is used by Caesar in this one passage only, *pati* in the same sense often. 3. 3: Codd. *et paulo, quam sunt eiusdem generis et ceteri hum.*; Nipperdey om. *quam* and *et*; Frigell om. *ut* and places *sunt* after *ceteri*; Kvíčala reads *pauloque*; Peskett suggests *quanquam sunt eiusdem generis, sunt ceteris humaniores*. 5. 2: *quid quisque*], codd. *quod quisque*. 6. 4: Codd. *Germani iam latius*. 5: |*ad se*| *evocatis*, Geyer. 7. 3: Codd. (except one) *consuetudo h a e c sit*; if Caesar had written thus, he would have continued (as i. 43. 8, 50. 4) with *ut resistant*, not *resistere*. 8. 1: *cum his*], Prammer with β, *cum iis*. 3: *se Ubiis*, β; best codd. *Suebis*. 10. 2: Codd. *insulamque efficit B., in Oceanum influit, neque longius ab oceano m. p. lxxx. in Rhenum influit*; see Heller, *Philol.* 22. 134 f. 4: *defluit*], Prammer with β, *diffluit*. 13. 4: *opportunissima res*], so β; Holder, *oportunissime res* (with four codd.); Schenkl, *-e* |*ea*| *res*. 16. 6: *reipublicae*, β; best codd. *P.R.* (=*populi Romani*). |*ad*| *auxilium*], *ad* omitted in codd., added by Aldus. 17. 10: *missae*], Ciacconius, *immissae*. 21. 9: *regionibus*], Paul, *rebus*. 22. 3: *lxxx*], best mss., *octingentis*. *contractisque quod*], Koch and Hoffmann, *constratisque quot*. But see notes and Heller, *Philol.* 19. 490. 23. 3: *angustis*], Paul, *angustissime*. 5: *ut quae*, Lipsius; *ut quam*, codd. 24. 2: *oppressis*], omitted by Madvig. 4: *utebantur*, restored by Frigell with the mss. for *nitebantur*. 25. 6: Codd. *ex proximis primis navibus*. Hotmann om. *primis*. *Proximae primae naves* cannot=*proximae e primis navibus*, and the expression is not justified by such passages as iii. 27. 2, *paucae ultimae rationes*, where there is no idea of partition. And if all the ships were in the front line *proximis* becomes meaningless. Madvig, *Adv.* ii. 258, *e proximis primi navibus*, but cp. R. Müller, *Jahresberichte d. phil. Vereins in Berlin*, iv. 6. 26. 5: Lipsius, *potuerant*; codd. *potuerunt*. 27. 1: *facturos polliciti sunt*], Apitz, *Hermes* 3. 375. Best mss. *facturos e s s e poll. sunt*; β, s e s e *fact. poll. sunt*. 4. Nipperdey, with β, |et| *in petenda*. 29. 2: *quibus...curaverat*], condemned by Vielhaber as interpolated: for even if at 22. 3 we read *constratisque* and assume that a part of the troops were carried across in ships of war, the words cannot here be used of ships of war, where they are distinguished from the *onerariae*. Heller (*Philol.* 19. 490) suggests that *exercitus*

here = 'the marines' in opposition to the legionaries. 30. 3: Codd. *aut suos;* two poor codd. *et suos;* ed. 1 (1469 A.D.), *ac suos.* 34. 1: Kraffert condemns *novitate pugnae* as a gloss on *quibus rebus.* Schenkl, |*in*| *novitate.* 3. *qui*], Hug, |*hostes*| *qui.*

BOOK V.

1. 1: *ad onera ad multitudinem*], best codd.; corr. β. 2. 3: *in Britanniam traiectum,* codd.; *in B. transmissum,* Geyer. *passuum xxx. transmissum,* codd.; Faerno om. *transmissum,* as interpolated from c. 13. 2. 3. 5: Best codd. *posset;* corr. β. *Indutiomarus*], omitted by Ciacconius. 7. 8: Codd. *ille enim.* Madvig (*Adv.* ii. 253) accepts Ciacconius' *enimvero,* which is not in Caesar's manner; cp. Hug (Bursian's *Jahresbericht,* 1875, p. 1151), who with A. Spengel (*Philol.* 32. p. 368) places the clause *ille enim...civitatis* after *illi, ut erat...interficiunt,* which Dittenberger condemns, as, among other reasons, the next clause *at equites...revertuntur* is ill placed; Holder with Fleischer, *eminus;* Kvíčala, *ille nostris revocatus;* Prammer (with β), *ille autem.* 8. 1: Codd. *re frumentaria;* Prammer, *rem frumentariam,* with cod. Romanus; Schneider, *re frumentariae.* 2. *et leni*], Paul, *at leni.* 9. 1: Codd. *relinquebat, et praesidio;* Kraffert, *relinquebat. Ei p.* 11. 4: *quae s u n t apud eum*], Procksch (*Consecutio Temporum in Caesare,* p. 2), *sint.* The mood of *sunt* is very remarkable; see notes. 12. 2: Heller om. *ac belli inferendi;* Kraffert (for *praedae*) reads *praedandi. bello illato*], *b. sedato,* Nipperdey; *b. finito,* Koch. 4. Vielhaber om. *aut aere,* Nipperdey om. *aut nummo aureo* (but, as Mommsen proves, British gold coins have been discovered). For *aureo* β read *aereo. aut taleis,* cod. Thuaneus; *aut aliis,* best codd., whence Holder, *an taliis* (?). 13. 1: *triquetra,* ed. Romana, 1469; best codd., *utrique.* 14. 5: *qui,* best codd.; others, *si qui.* 15. 1: Prammer with β, |*ita*| *tamen.* 4. *loci,* bracketed by Nipperdey, but in all codd. and cp. Heller, *Philol.* 32. 328. 16. 3: *equestris... inferebat,* omitted by Tittler. 17. 2: Codd. *s i c u t i a. s. legionibusque non a.;* corr. Dittenberger, followed by Kvíčala. 21. 1: *Cenimagni*], Lipsius, *Iceni Cangi;* cp. Glück, p. 60. 24. 3: Codd. *in Belgis.* But all the other legions were also in this division of Gaul, and there no

special part of it bore this name: Thomann conj. *in Bellovacis*, the legion being probably at Samarobriva, and so really in the territory of the A m b i a n i, obscure dependants on the more powerful Bellovaci; cp. ii. 4. 5, 9. In like manner Labienus is said to have wintered in the territory both of the Treveri and the Remi; cp. v. 24. 2, vi. 7. 1. 25. 3: *inimicis*, best mss.; *inimici*, *β*; *inimicissimi*, Paul. *et iis auctoribus* and *eum interfecerunt*, best codd. 4. *ad plures* |*res*| *pertinebat* Pluygers. 5. Codd. *legatis quaestoribusque;* Vielhaber om., Nipperdey, *l. quaestoreque*. *hibernis* omitted by Vielhaber as introduced from *hiberna*. 26. 3: *una ex parte*], Paul, *decumana porta*, *Ztschr. f. Gymn.* 35. 258: an ingenious and plausible but unnecessary conjecture. That *ex* thus used is in Caesar's manner is proved by the passage quoted in the note, while Caesar may well under the circumstances have known no *exact* details. 28. 4: Codd. *quantasvis, magnas etiam, copias, G.* Schneider om. *magnas*, Dübner *magnis etiam;* Kvíčala reads *quantumvis magnas*. *rem esse*], G. F. W. Müller |*hanc*| *rem esse*. 6. *esset* (and 29. 7, *haberet*), best codd., but cp. Dinter, *Qu. Caes.* p. 25 ff. 30. 2: *hi* |*si*| *sapient*, Madvig. 31. 5: *omnia...augeatur*, Lüdecke places in § 3 after *perducitur*, cp. however Klein (*Jahrb. f. Phil.* cxi. p. 854 f.) and Eussner Bursian, 1877, vol. 2, p. 118. Paul omitted the words. 6. *Ambiorige* omitted by Tittler. 33. 3: *facile*], codd. *facere;* Frigell om. 6. *quaeque quisque*, *β*; best codd. *quae quisque*. 34. 2: Codd. for *studio* (conj. Davis) read *numero;* Glareanus *animo;* Kvíčala (for *pugnandi*) *pugnando*. Hug om. *erant...pares*. 4. Paul om. *levitate...posse*. Prammer for *iis* reads *ipsis*. 37. 7: *elapsi*, *β*; best codd. *lapsi*. 38. 1: *sese subsequi*, Frigell with nearly all codd., for Nipperdey's *subsequi;* (Heller, *Philol.* 19, p. 467). 39. 1: Nearly all codd. *Geidunni;* codd. Parisinus (10th cent.) *-mni;* cp. Glück, p. 102. 40. 1: Prammer, *litterae* |*nuntiique*|; Paul for *si* reads *siqui*. 2. *admodum*], Pluygers, *ad numerum*. 42. 2: Codd. *quosdam de ex.;* corr. Whitte; '*quod* excidit ante *quos*,' Madv. 3. *nitebantur*], best codd. *videbantur;* *β*, *cogebantur*. 5. *horis*], Kraffert, *diebus*. *passuum*], *p.* in mss.; probably = *pedum*. 43. 1: *fusili*], Wagener, *fusilis*. 4. Prammer om. *demigrandi causa*. 5. Prammer om. *eo die*. 7. *succensa*], Nipperdey, *succisa*. 44. 1: Codd. *Pullo* and *Varenus;* first corr. by Aldus, A.D. 1513. 3. *probandae*, three poor codd.; *pro laude*, best codd. *exspectas*, *β*; best codd. *spectas*. 5. *quidem sese*, Apitz, with best codd.; Nipperdey, with *β*, *quidem sese tum*. 6. Prammer conj. *protegunt* |*illi*|. 12. *delatus*, Paul; codd. *deiectus*. 45. 2: *summamque*, Paul; codd. *suamque*. 4. *in iaculo*], Kraner conj. *in sagulo*. 46. 3:

Atrebatum, best codd.; *-ium*, β; cp. Heller, *Philol.* 19, 481. *qua sibi scit i. f.*, Heller, *Philol.* 19. 506. Most edd. with codd. *qua sibi i. f. sciebat.* 47. 4: *ne si*, Oudendorp, combining *ne* of best codd. with *si* of β. The best mss. also insert *ut* before *hostium.* 49. 1: *haec erant*, some good codd.; *hae erant armatae*, others. 2. *repetit*, two early edd. (according to Frigell); codd. *repperit.* 6. Schenkl conj. *erat* |*tamen*|. 8. *valles transire*, best codd.; Frigell, *transiri.* β have *vallem*, an obvious correction, involving a greater change than Frigell's. 53. 6: After *L. Roscio* the better mss. have *quaestore;* β, *legato;* omitted by Oudendorp.

BOOK VI.

1. 2: Codd. *consulis;* Ciacconius (cp. Paul *Z. f. G.* 32. 165), *consul.* 3. Best codd. *resarciri; sarciri*, restored by Paul from β. Caesar often used the simple, never the compound, verb; and the *re-* could easily slip in after *tempore.* 2. 3: [*ac*], omit with β, as against Caesar's usage. Nipperdey retains it, explaining '*si quidem Germani cum Menapiis potissimum coniuncti fuisse dicuntur*': cp. Procksch, *Nebensätze bei Cäsar*, p. 4. 4. 3: *arbitratur*, best codd.; Prammer still reads *arbitrabatur.* 7. 6: *in consilio*, omitted by Paul. 7. *nonnullos G a l l o s G. rebus*, best codd. Frigell, *nonnullos Gallorum rebus.* 8. *his...effecit*, omitted by Paul. 9. 7: *vellet*, Frigell, with β. 8. *reperit, accipit*, Nipperdey's corr. for the *repperit, accepit* of the mss. *Ubiorum*, three poor codd.; codd. *ubi horum.* 10. 2: *iniquam*], Long, with β, *alteram.* 5. Paul om. *iniuriis incursionibusque.* Kvíčala conj. *Ch. ab Sueborum S-que ab Cheruscorum iniuriis*, etc. 11. 2: *partibusque*, omitted by Frigell. Best codd. omit *in* before *singulis.* 12. 5. *imperfecta*], Schneider, *infecta* with β; Heller, *Phil.* 13. 371. 13. 1: *nihil audet*], Frigell with some few mss.; *habet* (which is very weak). 2. *nobilibus* |*quibus*| *in hos*, Dinter; *n.* |*eisque*| *in hos*, Kvíčala. 14. 1: *militiae...immunitatem*, omitted by Paul. 3. Best codd. *viginti.* 16. 1: *omnis* of β is more vigorous than *omnium* of the best mss. 5. The mss. are about equally divided betwean *noxa* and *noxia;* see note. 17. 3: *cum superaverunt*, Clarke's corr. for *quae -averint, -arint* of codd.; Hoffman, *qui superaverint.* 19. 2: *superavit*, Whitte's corr. for *-averit, -arit* of codd. 4. Ursini needlessly conj. *funebribus.* 22. 2: Codd. *qui c u m una*, for

which Heller *qua tum una ;* Frigell *qui communiter ;* Peskett suggests *quicumque una.* 23. 9 : *qui quaque*], Madvig, (exc. 6 on Cic. *de Fin.*), *quacumque ;* Frigell, *quaqua.* 24. 4 : *quod*], Nipperdey, *quidem.* |*ante*| is Heller's conjecture; Aldus, *patientiaque.* 25. 2: Codd. *Danubii.* 4. *aut audisse*] *aut adisse*, all (but three poor) codd. 29. 1: *omnes Germani*, codd; *homines Germani*, Oudendorp; *omnium G.*, Kvíčala; Vielhaber would omit *omnes.* 3. Codd. *Volcatium* and (§ 4) *Minutius.* 4. Codd. *possit;* Heller, *posset.* 30. 2. |*sicut*| after *nam*, omitted in best codd., inserted by Stephanus with four poor mss. Frigell, *nam magno* |*ut*| *accidit casu. hominibus*], two good mss.; the rest *omnibus.* 31. 3: *his insutis*, Nipperdey, with *β*. 5. [*aut*] before *belli, β*; cp. Heller, *Philol.* 19, 510. 34. 2 : *ubi cuique...consederat, β*; Frigell, *ubicumque...consederant.* 3. *ab* om. codd. 8. *evocat β*, but in Caesar's manner; *ad se vocat*, best codd. 35. 6: Frigell, *transeunt* |*ii*| *Rhenum.* 7. Dübner omitted *in* before *bello.* 8. Peskett *fortunatissimis* with three mss.; most editions, *-os.* 10. *oblata* |*tanta*| *spe*, Paul; |*hac*| *oblata spe*, H. J. Müller. 36. 2: *siquidem...liceret*, omitted by Paul: *siquidem* is not used by Caesar. 38. 1 : *ad Caesarem*, best mss.; *apud C.*, *β*. 3. *tam*, omitted in best mss.; Paul om. *nemo...perturbetur.* 39. 4: *dispecta*, Paul, for *despecta* of codd., as also at vii. 36. 2. 40. 1: *perterrent. Milites alii*, Eussner. 6. *potuerunt*, *β*; best codd. *potuerant.* 43. 1 : *magno coacto* |*equitum*| *numero*, Madv. 3. *a tanta, β*. 4. *ut n o n modo*, all but two poor mss. Freudenberg for *ut* reads *ubi.* 44. 3: *Agedinci*, see Geographical Index.

BOOK VII.

1. 1: |*de*|, Aldus. 3. 1: *Gutruato*, Glück, 110 and 63; codd. *Cotuato.* 2. Codd. *ubique; ubicumque, β*; Schneider, *ubi quae.* 3. Codd. *Genabum*; corr. by Glück. 5. 6 : *pronuntiarunt*, early edd.; *-arint*, *averint*, codd. *proponendum*], Prammer, *ponendum*, with *β*. 8. 2: *mons Cevenna*], *mons* omitted by best mss. 4. Codd. *nuntii* (cp. Dinter, *Quaestt. Caes.* p. 28 f.); Nipperdey, *nuntiis. ne ab hostibus diripiantur* is Dittenberger's correction of *neu ab hostibus diripiantur*, which Heller (*Philol.* 19. 493) shows to be wrong. Holder and other edd., *neu se ab hostibus diripi patiatur*, with *β*. 10. 1: *videret*, codd.; Prammer (with cod. Vaticanus,

10th century), *videretur*. 11. 6: *contingebat*, β; best codd. *continebat*. 14. 2: *et* (before *commeatu*), β; best codd. *aut;* Schneider, *ac*. 5. Prammer would insert *communis* before *salutis*. *Hoc spatio*, omitted by von Göler. *ab via*, Madvig's corr. (*Adv*. 2. 256) of *a Boia* of codd. [*Boia* as a proper name is more than doubtful, see also Nipperdey's note]; Dinter (*Quaest. Caes*. 31 f.), *omnia;* Kraffert, *ad Boios;* von Göler om. 15. 2: *quod se prope*, inserted from β; Dinter brackets *se prope*. 3. *deliberatur*, β; best codd. *dicitur;* Holder with Vielhaber (*Zeitschrift f. östr. Gymn*. 1864, 39), *disceptatur*. 17. 5: *infecta re*, β; best codd. *incepta re*. Kvíčala would write |*frustra*| *incepta re*. 19. 1: *leniter*, early edd.; codd. *leviter*. 2. *in civitates*, omitted by Paul. Codd. *omnia vada ac saltus eius paludis*, which cannot be right. Kraner brackets *eius paludis;* and for *saltus* Nipperdey conjectures *transitus* [cp. viii. 13, *ad vada transitusque paludis*]; Fleischer *semitas*, cp. O. Keller, *N. Jahrb. f. Phil*. 1871, 558 f. 20. 3: *ipse sine* is Bentley's corr. of *ipsum* of codd.; Dübner, *ipsa*. 7. *remitteret*, codd.; *remittere*, Stephanus. 21. 2: *copiis*, β; best codd. *locis*. 3. *paene in eo*, some very poor mss.; codd. *penes eos*, kept by most edd., and defended by Heller, *Phil*. 19. 496; and Vielhaber, *Ztschr. f. d. östr. Gymn*. 1864, p. 39. 22. 5: *malis*], Ciacconius conj. *alis*. 24. 4: *eminus*, codd. This being superfluous after *de muro*, Dinter conj. *manibus*. 25. 4: Codd. *ea parte*, corr. by Ciacconius. 26. 3: *hoc facere*, cod. Jadrensis (15th century); codd. *haec*. 27. 2: Codd. *extra castra vineas*, or *extra vineas*, or *intra vineas;* corr. Heller. 28. 1: *contra* (after *obviam*), codd. omitted by Frigell. *ex omni numero*, cp. Vielhaber, *Ztschr. f. d. ö. G*. 1870, p. 530. *eiecerant*, Prammer with β. 30. 1: *neque* |*se*| *in o*.], *se* inserted in ed. Rom. A.D. 1469. 4. *confirmati*, Nipperdey's corr. of *consternati*. 31. 1: *donis pollicitationibusque*, β; *bonis pollicitationibus*, best codd. 32. 3: Prammer would insert *nunc* after *duo*. 34. 1: Codd. have *his* before *rebus;* omitted by Beroaldus, A.D. 1504. 35. 1: *utrique esset*, β; *utrimque exisset*, best codd. 3. Codd. *captis*, which gives no sense. Many suggestions have been made: *carptis* (Wendel), *sectis* (Oudendorp), *laxatis* (Kindscher), *de tractis* (Voss), *interceptis* (Drosihn), *partitis* (Vielhaber), Fleischer, *sic aptatis;* see Dittenberger *ad h. l*. *subtractis* or *subreptis* (Heller), *ita apertis* (Deiter); Madvig's *cavis*, 'in hollow formation,' is ingenious. 36. 2: *dispici*, Vielhaber and Paul. 4. Best codd. *perspiceretur;* Frigell, with β, *periclitaretur;* Dinter conj. *perspiceret*. 6. Codd. have *tamen* before *silentio;* corr. by Schneider. 38. 5: Codd. *multos* or *omnes* before *equites:* omitted by Whitte, defended by Kvíčala. 40. 3:

Gaium, omitted by best mss. 6. *deditionem significare*, omitted by Paul. 41. 1: *noctis*, omitted by v. Göler. 42. 6: |*in*| *itinere*, omitted in codd.; added in ed. Rom. 43. 3: |*et*,| *quod*, Paul; Prammer, *quod*...|*et*| *timore*. 44. 2: *miratus*, Paul; *admiratus*, codd. 3. Prammer omits *silvestrem et augustum;* Kvíčala reads *deorsum esse eius iugi* |*locum*| *prope aequum, s. h. s. e. a.* 5. Codd. *omnes;* Dittenberger, *homines.* 45. 1: Codd. *eisdem;* Nipperdey, *eis de.* 2. Codd. *neque his;* Davies, *deque his.* 6. Best codd. *munitionum; ad munitionem*, *β*, omitted by Kraner. 46. 2: Codd. *huic;* Nipperdey, *huc.* 3. *nostrorum*, first two edd. (A.D. 1469, 1471). Holder with codd. *nostrum.* 5. *Toutomatus*, Holder; codd. *Votomatus*, *Votomapatus;* Aldus, *Theutomatus.* 47. 1: Codd. *contionatus;* v. Göler, *continuo;* Heller, *clivom nactus.* 50. 2: *pacatorum*, Georges; *pacatum*, *peccatum*, codd.; Heller, *pactum.* 52. 2: Codd. *exposuit quid;* Vielhaber, *exp. quod.* 53. 2: Codd. *nihilominus;* Vascosanus, *nihilomagis.* 55. 9: *aut...expellere*, omitted by Morus. Davies for *aut* read *et*, which Prammer adopts, reading also *in provinciam:* but see Dittenberger *ad h.l.* 56. 2: *nam ut commutato consilio*, best codd., and below *ut ne metu quidem*, for which *ut nemo non tum* is Herzog's correction. 58. 2: *Metiosedum*, best codd.; *Melodunum*, *β*; see Geogr. Index. 6. Best codd. *prospecta palude; β*, *profecti a palude;* Hoffmann, *praesaepti palude;* Nipperdey, *proiecta palude.* 62. 2: *cuius...superasset*, omitted by Paul. 8. |*in*| *praesidio*, Dittenberger's corr. of *praesidia* of codd., which Paul (*Ztschr. f. Gymn.* 35. 264) omits. 10. Best codd. *indiem, indie; β*, *indie.* Whitte added |*die tertio*|. 64. 1: Codd. *denique ei rei constituit diem; huc;* Hotmann corr. *diemque* [Hoffmann, *dedendique*]; Nipperdey, *huic.* 65. 5: Codd. *sed et* before *equitibus*, omitted in early edd. 66. 5: |*in*| *agmine*, Dübner. 6. Codd. *et* before *ipsos;* del. Vielhaber and Whitte. 7. |*ne*| *ad uxorem*, Dübner. 67. 1: Nipperdey (with best codd.), *una primo.* 5. *summum*], Geyer, *idoneum. qua maxime parte*, Vascosanus (e vestigiis codd.). 70. 2: *ne ...fiat*, interpolated from c. 69. 7: see notes and Paul, *Ztschr. f. G.* 35. 270. 3. *relictis*, omitted by Prammer. 71. 4: Dübner, *exigue esse dierum xxx fr.* 5. *qua nostrum opus erat*, Holder with *β*. 72. 2: *pedes*, codd.; *passus* should be restored to correspond with existing traces of the works. 73. 1: *fieri*], Schneider, *tueri.* 4. *cippos*], Kraner conj. *cirros*, 'locks,' 'curls,' as better suiting their actual shape. 74. 1: *eius discessu*], Oudendorp omits. Many emendations of *eius* have been devised; Menge *equitatus;* v. Göler, *equitum* (cp. 71. 1); Hoffmann, *munitionum.* Nipperdey reads *eius* (*i.e.*, of the external enemy) *accessu;* Heller, *artius obsessa.* 2. *ne autem*,

Hand; codd. *aut;* cod. Thuaneus (12th century), *ut.* 75. 1: *cuique ex c.*, best codd.; *quaque ex c.*, Kvíčala; *frumenta|ndi ra|tionem*, Dübner; codd. *frumentationem.* 2. *Ambivaretis*], *Ambluaretis*, codd. *Brannoviis*], codd. *Brannoviis;* omitted by Ciacconius. *Eleutetis*], *Helviis*, Ukert and Glück. 3. Codd. *totidem Lemovicibus* (before *octona Pictonibus*), omitted by Nipperdey. Codd. *Senonibus* (after *Helvetiis*); Hoffmann, *sena Andibus.* |*totidem*| (after *Veliocassis*), added by Dinter. *Lemovicibus*, Nipperdey; codd. *Lexoviis.* *Eburovicibus*], Henry de Valois; codd. *Eburonibus.* |*bina*| (after *Boiis*), added in some poor codd. 4. *xxx.*], Schneider *x.* *Lexovii*], best codd. *Lemovices;* β, *Veneti. Lemovices*, omitted by Dübner. *Venelli*, Ursinus; codd. *Unelli.* 76. 1: Paul om. *in Britannia*, but see Dittenberger *ad h. l.* 3. *ccl.*], β; best codd. *ccxl.* 77. 4: *res sit*], H. J. Müller, *erit.* 8. *quid* |*enim*| *hominum*, Dübner. 78. 1: *ab C. sententia*, codd.; corr. by Aldus. 2. *illo tamen tempore*, best codd.; β om. *tempore.* 82. 3: Codd. *praeparaverant;* Aldus, *praeparata erant.* 83. 2: *fecerunt*, best codd.; *-rant*, β. 86. 4: Codd. *ex ascensu;* Madvig (*Adv.* 2. 259), *exscensu.* 87. 4: *se* (before *sequi*), omitted in best codd. 5. Vielhaber would read *xi. cohortes.* 88. 1: *quo...consuerat*, omitted by Paul. 3. *vertunt*, β; best codd. *verterunt.* 4. *Lemovicum*, β; best codd. *remustum;* Schneider, *Aremoricorum.* 90. 3: Kraffert places *legiones in h. mittit* before *T. Labienum.* 8. *literis*, omitted by Dittenberger. Dinter, *his* |*rebus ex*| *litteris* |*Caesaris*| *cognitis;* cp. iv. 38. 5, *his rebus gestis ex litteris C.*, etc.

INDEX (CHIEFLY GRAMMATICAL).

N.B.—*The references are to the Notes by book, chapter, and section.*

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